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OF

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 5

AUGUST, 1918—MARCH, 1919

Nos. 1-2

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

AN APPEAL FOR FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

NOW that Belgium has been freed from the hateful presence of the barbarian invaders, whose brutal tyranny has received the answer it richly deserved, the Belgian people are returning from exile, having their hearts filled with a new-found but aching pride in the immortal glory which their country has acquired, as a result of their noble and heroic sovereign's lofty conception of his duty to remain true to his pledges of neutrality, and by so doing to vindicate his country's honour.

The first care of these brave people will be the rebuilding of their country, once so fair and prosperous, but during four years ravaged by the savage hordes of despoiling marauders, who swept down upon it like a mighty devastating torrent, obliterating many of its ancient landmarks, and laying it waste and desolate.

It is evident that no time is to be lost, for already preparations have been commenced for the work of replenishment and for the resumption of business. Never, indeed, for one moment, did our noble Allies abandon hope. They faced the future with a courage and a determination coupled with self-sacrifice, which have been not only abundantly justified, but have evoked our admiration and our envy.

The spirit which sustained them throughout their four years of captivity and exile is revealed in a moving editorial, with its confident note of faith in the justice of their cause, and in the ultimate success of their arms, which appeared more than four years ago in the first London issue of the exiled "Indépendance Belge". Here is one of its most striking paragraphs: "So shall we return—let us doubt it not—

to our liberated country. We shall raise anew our towns, set our factories afresh in motion, repair our railways and our harbours, resume our rank among productive nations, and make a new and industrious Belgium great by her works, and high in the whole world's esteem."

But it is not the industrial reconstruction with which we are immediately concerned, much as we appreciate the need for organizing the country's resources to meet the entirely new set of conditions which are emerging from this dreadful conflict. It is with the replacement and restitution of the treasures of art and literature, for which the galleries, museums, and libraries of Belgium were admittedly famous, many of which have been either wantonly destroyed, as was the case at Louvain, or looted and carried off to Germany, by the train load, by the more discriminating of the vandals.

Not only should the Germans be made to disgorge these stolen treasures, but they should be compelled to provide an equivalent, either in money or in kind, from their own well-stocked galleries, museums, and libraries, for every picture, manuscript, printed book, and other "objet d'art" which they so senselessly destroyed during their occupation of the country. Only in this way can they be made to realize the futility and heinousness of their crimes; and we are glad to learn that active steps have already been taken in this direction by Monsieur Paul de Zambotti, the Director of the Art Galleries of Belgium, whose avowed intention it is to reclaim all the pictures and other art treasures carried off by the Germans.

Monsieur de Zambotti has ample precedent for his action in that taken by the Allies after the battle of Waterloo, in September, 1815, when the Allied Powers ordered the formal restitution of all the pictures illegitimately removed during the Napoleonic conquests, and commissioners from fourteen states were appointed to inspect the collection at the Louvre, with the result that no fewer than 2065 pictures were reclaimed and carried off, leaving only 270 in the gallery.

It is not too much to ask, surely, that a similar course of procedure may be adopted by the Peace Conference, and that commissioners may be appointed with powers not only to secure the return of the stolen treasures, but also to exact from the various national collections in the enemy countries an equivalent for every picture, manuscript, and other treasure destroyed by enemy action in the ravaged territories. It must

be borne in mind, however, that the object of such a toll is to make amends, and that on no account must it be allowed to develop into actions for reprisal.

It has been said, and said truly, that history will pay homage for all time to the nation which sacrificed all but honour to preserve her own independence, and at the same time safeguard the liberties of Europe. But it must not be left to history alone to compensate Belgium for having at such tremendous cost retarded the march of the barbarian invaders and frustrated their plans. It is a present help she needs, and it is fitting that we, who owe more to her than we can ever repay, who feel sympathy with her in the hour of her affliction, and who rejoice with her in the hour of her triumph, should seize every opportunity of repaying at least a portion of our debts, by enforcing expiation, as far as in us lies, of some of the many crimes against humanity, of which the Germans have been guilty.

One of the earliest of the senseless acts of vandalism perpetrated by the self-constituted apostles of culture, whose motives have now been so manifestly exposed, was the destruction of the historic Library of the University of Louvain, and the University Halls ; and the object of this article is to renew the appeal which has been made from time to time in these pages in support of the scheme, inaugurated as long ago as December, 1914, to assist in the replacement of the famous collection of books involved in that act.

It may possibly be argued by some of our readers that if the Germans are to be required to make good the damage which they have wrought, what need is there to proceed further with any such independent schemes of reconstruction as the one we propose. To such we would point out that considerable time must elapse before the damage can be assessed, and the work of restitution entered upon. In the meantime the authorities of the University will be anxious to return to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to reassemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which are already taking shape.

One of the first essentials in the organization and equipment of any university is a library, for as one of the old writers has said : " A monastery [university] without a library is like a castle without an

armoury," or, as Thomas à Kempis has expressed it : " C'est comme une table sans mets, un jardin sans fleurs, une bourse sans argent ". The methods of modern education have undergone so complete a revolution in recent years, that an ever-increasing part of its energies is now devoted to the encouragement of investigation and research, with the result that the library has acquired a much more important place in the organization than heretofore. It is now the centre of activity, and has been appropriately described as " the laboratory of the humanistic departments ".

There was a time when the university library was innocent of anything so mundane as the literature of trade and industry, but such have been the developments of the modern up-to-date institution that it is no longer limited to things academic. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the term " academic," under modern conditions, has acquired a new and broader significance. In any case, under the broadening conception of the scope of education, and to meet the public demand for vocational training, the modern university has developed into a place where everything useful may be studied, and as a consequence the demand has sprung up for the literature of technology and the useful arts, surrounded by a whole new literature relating to various crafts. Nothing is now alien to the university library, which, in consequence, is called upon to give shelter to universal literature.

It is with this liberal view of the scope of the modern university before us that we are aiming to assist the authorities of the repatriated University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, by providing them as early as possible with, at least, the nucleus of a new library, in the form of a live, up-to-date collection of books, designed to meet the immediate requirements of a progressive general university, in which provision is made for the study of everything useful in the development of mind and matter. In order that this collection of books shall be available for immediate use the contributions are being catalogued as they are received, so that they may be ready to be placed upon the shelves of their new home as soon as it is ready.

It will be perfectly clear from the foregoing remarks that it is no part of our intention to relieve Germany of her obligation to make reparation for her misdeeds. The proposed gift library, which is already in a state of preparation, will be independent of, and precedent

to, any compensation which may be exacted from Germany ; and is intended to serve as a tangible proof to the people of Belgium of the high and affectionate regard in which we hold them and honour them for their incomparable bravery. We are naturally anxious, therefore, that it should be in every sense a worthy expression of our grateful appreciation.

We have been living amidst such tremendous happenings during the four years that have elapsed since the burning of Louvain, that our memories, which at best are short, have become a little dulled, and it will not be out of place to recall the circumstances of that savage act of barbarism.

It was on the 25th August, 1914, that the Germans set fire to the library of the University of Louvain, and totally destroyed not only the printed books numbering from 250,000 to 300,000 volumes and nearly 1000 manuscripts which the library contained, but also the famous University Halls, thus destroying in three days that which had taken five centuries of faith and intellectual effort to build up. Only once before in history has such a disaster been inflicted upon the world, when, in A.D. 643, the Caliph Omar, with blasphemy only equalled by that of the Kaiser, destroyed the library of Alexandria in the name of God, and even that instance is of very doubtful authority.

There have been those who have persistently sought to condone this insensate crime by suggesting that the burning of the library of Louvain was an unfortunate accident, whilst others with equal persistence have contended that the contents of the library were only partially destroyed, and that portions have been removed to a place of safety. Unfortunately, these views are not shared by such trustworthy eye-witnesses as Monsieur Delannoy, the Librarian of the University, who himself witnessed the deliberate destruction of the library by German soldiers provided with special apparatus, without any attempt being made to spare the contents. Indeed, so complete was the destruction that within a few days of the disaster not a single entire leaf could be recovered from amongst the débris. Several charred volumes, we are told, which had retained their shape were found, but they crumbled to powder as soon as they were handled. Other evidence of the crime was furnished by Monsieur Henri Davignon, Secretary of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, in a communication to the Editor of "The Times," which appeared in the columns of that journal on the 19th

October, 1916, where, in the interest of truth, we had placed before us many facts which had been established by Belgian and neutral witnesses, and even by Germans themselves, in a manner which would prove satisfactory to any court of inquiry.

Monsieur Lamy, Secretary of the Académie Française, whose death we regret to see recorded, writing in the "*Revue des deux Mondes*" in September last, made a most telling indictment of those who were responsible for that savage act of barbarism. He pointed out that the reason why the destruction of manuscripts remains in the memory when the destruction of cities is no longer remembered, is because for man during his brief life here the essential thing is to live not merely in the present but also in the future. It is the duty of the present, which is constantly passing, to bequeath to the future a heritage in the form of a record of its knowledge, its achievements, and its visions. Each age has its own seers and interpreters, who are able with the aid of the most fragile materials to give permanence to their records ; and transmitting by means of a little paper and a little ink the course of their destiny, the recital of their achievements and their struggles, with a confession of their failures, they become the instructors of successive generations.

To destroy these witnesses is to revoke the gift of the dead, to impoverish the inheritance of the living, to rob those who are no longer with us. This robbery of that which belongs to the past and to the future, by those to whom the custody of it has been entrusted for the fleeting moments of the present, is like a violation of the tomb, which is a profanation and a sacrilege.

It will enable readers the better to understand the enormity of this crime against civilization, if we sketch for them in the barest outline the history of the University, and its library, with incidental references to some of the vicissitudes through which it has passed.

The University of Louvain was founded under the authority of a Bull issued by Pope Martin V, bearing date of the 9th December, 1425, which provided for the foundation of a "*Studium generale*" at Louvain ; and in 1432 the city authorities placed at the disposal of the University the "*Halle aux draps*," dating from 1317, to provide them with the necessary accommodation for the teaching of theology, an addition to the "*Studium*" sanctioned by Pope Eugenius IV, which raised the number of the faculties to five, namely : Arts,

Medicine, Canon Law, Civil Law, and Theology. Thenceforward the "Halle aux draps" became the seat of academic authority in the Low Countries, and an international centre of science and learning attended by students of all nations.

It may be of interest to explain that the commerce in cloth was, in the middle ages, a source of great prosperity for the city of Louvain. From the end of the twelfth century the city possessed a cloth hall, which was located in the old market place, but at the commencement of the fourteenth century trade had increased to such an extent as to necessitate the construction of a building which should be capable of accommodating the great crowds which thronged the city during the great fairs, which were held each year in the month of September, and at the same time be more imposing. To meet this need a new "Halle aux draps" was erected in 1317. During the latter half of that century a bitter and sanguinary struggle broke out between the patricians and the plebeians, which caused a rapid decline in the prosperity of the city, since many of the merchants and cloth workers were driven out and found a refuge in Holland and England, where they set up their looms to the great advantage of the countries in which they settled. With this decline of trade the "Halle aux draps" lost the animation of earlier days, and the city authorities, as already stated, had the happy inspiration of offering it to the University.

But for more than two centuries the University could not boast of a central general library, so that the professors and the students had of necessity to make use of the rich libraries attached to the numerous colleges and religious houses in the city. It is clear, however, that the various constituent colleges and faculties had their own departmental libraries, since, in the Acts of the University, reference is made to the regulations relating to the Faculty of Arts, dating from 1466, in which the use of lights and the removal of books are strictly forbidden. Added to this, according to the humanist Puteanus, the professors themselves were live libraries, and the books which they had written were alone worth all the riches of a library. Indeed, it was not until the seventeenth century that the taste for public libraries grew up in Belgium.

The University library proper owes its origin to a former student, Laurent Beyerlinck, Canon of Antwerp, who, in 1627, bequeathed to the University his library, which was rich in history and theology.

This bequest constituted the foundation of the library whose loss we deplore.

In 1635 the Professor of Medicine, Jacques Romanus, son of the celebrated mathematician, transferred to the library the rich mathematical collection of his father, in addition to his own medical books.

At that time the Rector of the University was the famous Cornelius Jansenius, to whom belongs the honour of having organized this first nucleus of the library, which was duly installed in the University halls, in the theatre of the Faculty of Medicine, and Jacques Boonen, Archbishop of Malines, assigned to it an annual sum for its upkeep and development. The custody of the books was entrusted to Professor Valère André, the eminent historian and bibliographer, who presided at the public opening of the library on the 22nd August, 1636, and who, on the occasion of his nomination, delivered an oration extolling the priceless advantages of a library, which he described as : " Temple de Minerve et des muses, arsenal de toutes les sciences ". Before the close of the year André had published a catalogue of the 1762 volumes bequeathed by the two first benefactors, Beyerlinck and Romanus.

Unfortunately, after the death of André the library was allowed to fall into neglect until 1719, when attention was directed to it by the gift of Dominique Snellaerts, Canon of Antwerp, who bequeathed to it the 3500 volumes composing his own library, which was extremely rich in Jansenist literature. When Snellaerts, during his lifetime, was invited to give his library to the University, he replied that he did not like to encounter books bearing his name at the doors and in the windows of the second-hand dealers. He had often, he said, seen in Louvain and elsewhere books lying about bearing the names of celebrated men, which had been left by them to the University.

The bequest of Snellaerts necessitated the construction of a new building, an enterprise which was undertaken by the Rector Réga, a man of great initiative, who was the founder of the Anatomical Museum, and who also was instrumental in obtaining a fixed revenue for the library. Consequently, a new wing was added to the old " Halle," the construction of which was completed in 1730, the entire upper story of which was allotted to the library.

A new element of progress was introduced during the administration of C. F. de Nélis, who became librarian in 1752. His first act was to ask the Government to impose on the Belgian printers the

obligation of depositing in the library at least one copy of their publications, a request which was acceded to, with the result that the effects of the concession were soon apparent. It was also during the régime of De Nélis that a printing press and a publishing department were established in connection with the library.

Paquot succeeded De Nélis in the office of librarian, so that the library was administered successively by two scholars, who may be described as the best known *littérateurs* of that period in the Low Countries.

It was on the initiative of De Nélis that the representatives of the Austrian Government, in 1769, created in Brussels a literary society, of which five of the foundation members belonged to the University of Louvain. In 1772 this society was installed in the *Bibliothèque de Bourgogne*, under the title : " *Académie impériale des sciences et belles lettres*," and ultimately blossomed into the " *Académie royale de Belgique* ".

Under the administration of Jean François Van de Velde (1771-1797) 16,573 volumes were added to the shelves of the library, 12,000 of which were acquired by purchase at the sale of the libraries of the Jesuits after their suppression. At that time the library contained about 50,000 volumes.

Then came the Austrian régime with all its vexation and torment. In those tragic days Van de Velde, who incarnated the soul of the University, was deprived of his charge and banished from the Low Countries. In 1788 the Austrian Government removed to Brussels 108 waggons full of furniture and scientific instruments, and eighteen cases of precious volumes; which were deposited in the " *Eglise des Lorraines*, at Grand Sablon ". Two years later Van de Velde was reinstated, and was able to secure the return of the books which had been removed.

In 1795, at the time of the entry of the French into Belgium, the commissioners of the French Republic, Le Blond and De Wailly, appropriated some 5000 volumes, amongst which were the most precious of the manuscripts of the Louvain Library ; the manuscripts and the most precious of the printed books belonging to the *Bibliothèque de Bourgogne* at Brussels were also transported to Paris, deposited provisionally in the *Bibliothèque des Cordeliers*, and afterwards transferred to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. The manuscripts belonging to the

Bibliothèque de Bourgogne were restored after the battle of Waterloo, but there is no evidence that the 5000 volumes removed from Louvain were ever returned. In 1797 the University was suppressed, the library was placed in charge of a commission, and the librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, De la Serna Santander, obtained authority to make a selection of all the works, which, in his estimation, would be of service to the library in Brussels. The result was a further appropriation of 718 volumes, none of which were ever restored. Writing with reference to this appropriation De la Serna Santander expressed surprise at the richness of the collection which he found at Louvain in the following terms : " Ce que j'ai trouvé . . . dans les dépôts des livres existant dans le bâtiment de la ci-devant université, dit les Halles, a surpassé mes espérances ".

In 1805, by an imperial decree of Napoléon, the library of the University became the property of the municipality, and in the following year it was placed under the control of a commission, and opened to the public, but in consequence of irregularities in the administration it was closed in 1807 by order of the Prefect.

In 1816 the library was placed at the disposition of the State University, founded at Louvain by the Government of the Low Countries, and in the report of the commission entrusted with the transfer it was said to contain the works most essential in nearly every department of literature for a public library. In 1835 the State University was suppressed, and upon the re-establishment of the present independent University in the following year, the city authorities placed at the disposal of the *Alma Mater* the " Halle aux draps " and the precious library, of which it remained in undisturbed possession until August, 1914.

It is computed that at the time of the disaster the library contained, as already stated, between 250,000 and 300,000 volumes of printed books, and about 1000 manuscripts, of which unfortunately there is no satisfactory record. Professor Delannoy, it is true, was at the time actually engaged upon a revision of the catalogue, but the result of his labours perished in the conflagration. In the course of the rearrangement of the books which this work involved, scarcely a day passed without there being brought to light from the obscurity of some corner important volumes which had lain there for a couple of centuries unrecorded, and consequently unknown.

The collection of manuscripts included many priceless and irreplaceable treasures. Notably : the autograph volume of sermons of Thomas à Kempis said to contain the life of Sainte Lidwige, of Schiedam ; a fifteenth century copy of "De viris illustribus" of Cornelius Nepos, which was regarded as the most important text then extant of that author ; two autograph manuscripts of Dionysius Carthusiensis ; an eleventh century copy of Prudentius ; several very fine examples of the beautiful post-Caroline writing of the twelfth century ; a large number of manuscripts relating to the history of Belgium and Brabant, many of which dealt with the history of the various religious houses ; and a considerable number of liturgical and other illuminated manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The most interesting of these manuscripts provided M. le Chanoine Reusens with the material for his studies, which resulted in his "Éléments de paléographie," where may be found descriptions accompanied by reproductions of a number of the most representative of them.

But the loss most to be deplored is the total destruction of the Archives of the University, including that most precious of all muni-ments, the foundation Bull issued by Pope Martin V, in 1425, which renders for ever impossible the complete and documentary history of the *Aima Mater* of the new foundation, which was in contemplation at the outbreak of war.

It was not only in manuscripts that the library was rich. Its printed books included a remarkable collection of Incunabula, numbering upwards of 800 examples, a large proportion of which were printed in the Low Countries, comprising many specimens of the work of John of Westphalia, the first printer in Louvain, including the first dated work printed by him in 1474, and the "Vocabularius" of 1483, of which apparently only one other copy is known. The collections of mathematical and medical works were equally notable, containing the vellum copy of "De corporis humani fabrica" of Vesalius, which was presented to the University by the Emperor Charles V. The splendid collections of "Jesuitica," comprising publications by or relating to the Jesuits not only in the Low Countries but in every part of Europe ; and of "Jansenistica," which is sufficiently explained by the part the University played in the history of Jansenism, are said to have been quite unequalled, and were amongst the possessions of which the University was justly proud.

Then, too, the University took a very active part in the religious struggles for reform in the Low Countries, and piously preserved the records of these struggles, together with the polemical literature surrounding the conflicts of opinion to which they gave rise. In that way there was built up at Louvain a very complete and valuable collection of material, said to contain many unique sources for the history of theological doctrine.

The collection of Bibles which the library possessed is said, by Monsieur Delannoy, to have been quite unique. There were also many bibliographical rarities, and early bindings of great interest, in addition to rich collections of oriental, philological, theological, and historical literature, the destruction of which is a serious loss to scholarship.

These are but a few of the outstanding features of the library, but sufficient has been said to enable readers to form some idea of its contents, the destruction of which has evoked the indignation of the civilized world, and at the same time to afford them some guidance as to the character of the works required for its rehabilitation on lines similar to those along which it has been consistently developed since its original foundation.

The scheme of reconstruction to which this appeal refers originated with the desire of the Governors of The John Rylands Library to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain in their irreparable loss, which found expression at the meeting of the Council of the Library held in the early part of December, 1914, of which Sir Alfred Hopkinson was, at that time, Chairman. It was forthwith decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books to be selected by the librarian from the stock of duplicates in their possession, which had gradually accumulated through the purchase from time to time of large and special collections, which invariably contained a number of works of which copies were already to be found upon the library shelves; together with a set of the printed catalogues and other publications which had been issued under their auspices.

A list of works forming the first instalment of the proposed gift, numbering upwards of 200 volumes, was drawn up to accompany the offer, when it was made to the Louvain authorities through the medium of Dr. Carnoy, Professor of Zend in the University

of Louvain, at that time resident in Cambridge. The offer, it is needless to say, was gratefully accepted, and Professor Carnoy in acknowledging the gift described it as : " Actually the first which had been effectually given to the future library of Louvain . . . one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival ".

As the exiled University was for the time dismembered and homeless, we undertook, at the request of the Louvain authorities, to house the volumes until such time as the new buildings were ready to receive them. It was then that it occurred to us that there must be many other libraries and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy ; and in the subsequent issue of this BULLETIN we announced our willingness to be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us for the purpose. We also announced that it was our intention to prepare a register of the names and addresses of the various contributors, together with an exact record of their gifts, for presentation with the library at the appropriate time, to serve as a permanent record of this united effort to repair some of the damage which has been wrought.

Our appeal met with a ready and generous response, the most gratifying feature of which was that all classes of the community, not only in this country but in many parts of the English-speaking world, and also in several of the allied and neutral countries participated in it, evidence of which will be found in the accompanying list of donors, containing, as it does, the names of institutions which have made liberal contributions of eminently suitable works from their stock of duplicates ; the names of individual collectors, who have given, with equal liberality from their own shelves, volumes of great interest and often of great rarity ; and also of struggling students, whose gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since, in many cases, they consist of treasured possessions which have been acquired through the exercise of strict economy and self-denial.

When the encouraging nature of our report of the first-fruits of our appeal came to the knowledge of Dr. Léon Van der Essen, Professor of History in the University of Louvain, and writer of the article which appeared in the BULLETIN for April, 1915, he wrote in the following terms of grateful appreciation : " Writing as a professor of the University of Louvain, let me thank you for all that you have done

for us since the crime of Louvain. It is such a wonderful thing in this time of horror to see how the scholars of all countries—the central empires excepted, alas—have manifested their friendship, and proved to us by so many deeds and words, that scientific international solidarity is still alive, and among that work I rank your . . . initiative as one of the most—if not the most—effective. I had indeed opportunity in America to see what your appeal was bringing forth, and how by your kind intermediary practical help was being prepared. It is noble work you are doing, work that will have a fine result, and I can assure you that never will the University of Louvain forget that the appeal went out from Manchester. . . . I hope to have the pleasure to come . . . and to witness the rebirth of our poor library, on the very soil of your splendid and glorious country. Kultur has destroyed the treasures of Louvain : it is a fact full of consequence that what has been destroyed, will have been restored by the kind intermediary of . . . English culture.”

In one of the earliest reports of the progress of our scheme we expressed the hope that the new library, which was rising phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old one, would be far richer and more glorious than its predecessor, and that the agencies through which that was to be accomplished would be as widely representative as possible. It was a source of great encouragement, therefore, to learn with what promptitude a number of societies and learned institutions had resolved to participate in this scheme of reconstruction.

In December, 1914, the Classical Association made an appeal to its members to assist in the reconstruction of the classical side of the library, and about the same time the Victoria University of Manchester forwarded to the authorities of the University of Louvain an address of sympathy, and resolved to set aside a set of the publications of the University Press, together with a considerable number of duplicates from the Christie Library. Similar resolutions have since been passed by the Trustees of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Signet Library, the National Library of Wales, the Universities of Aberdeen, Cambridge, and Durham, University College, Oxford, and many other institutions, the ultimate results of which will be a considerable accession of strength to the new library.

In the early part of 1916 the British Academy initiated a further movement, fraught with great possibilities, by calling together repre-

sentatives of the principal libraries and learned societies of the United Kingdom under the presidency of Viscount Bryce, to consider the advisability of co-operating with the Institut de France in the formation of an International Committee, whose aim should be the restoration of the University of Louvain and its library. The meeting was held at Burlington House and resulted in the formation of a small executive committee consisting of the following members : Lord Muir Mackenzie, G.C.B., K.C., Sir J. P. Mahaffy, G.B.E., C.V.O., Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B., Sir A. T. Davies, K.B.E., C.B., Sir A. Hopkinson, K.C., Edmund Gosse, Esq., C.B., Hugh Butler, Esq., Dr. I. Gollancz, Henry Guppy, Esq., Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton, C. G. Kekewich, Esq., Dr. J. W. Mackail, F. Madan, Esq., Dr. Norman Moore, Dr. A. E. Shipley, F.R.S., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, H. R. Tedder, Esq., Dr. C. T. Hagberg Wright, with Lord Muir Mackenzie as Chairman, and the Librarian of the House of Lords as Honorary Secretary, to consider the best way of organizing the movement effectively, and to take whatever steps were considered necessary.

At the first meeting of the Executive, which was held in the Library of the House of Lords, it was decided to co-operate with the Governors of the John Rylands Library in the development of the scheme which they had already inaugurated. Several appeals have since been made on behalf of the Committee by Lord Muir Mackenzie, the result of which has been to give a new impulse to the movement.

As soon as our first appeal reached America, in the early months of 1915, it was welcomed with enthusiasm, and we were much encouraged to receive from Miss Green, Librarian to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, a cablegram in which the offer was made to provide a centre in New York to which contributions from that side of the Atlantic might be sent—an offer, it is needless to add, which was promptly and gratefully accepted. Miss Green followed up her cablegram by a written communication in which she generously offered to do everything in her power to further the objects of our scheme, and at the same time informed us that Mr. Pierpont Morgan with great cordiality had set aside a number of duplicates of Incunabula, and other works of great interest from his own library, together with a set of such of his own printed catalogues and other publications as were still available. A committee was subsequently formed, but after careful consideration, it

was decided that so long as the United States maintained her position of neutrality it was obviously unwise to take any outwardly active part in the movement. It is now quite evident that whilst outwardly active participation in the scheme was, for the time, suspended, our friends were quietly organizing their resources in readiness for the time when active co-operation would be possible.

To that end a strong and influential National Committee representing the best interests of that great country was formed, under the Chairmanship of the President of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, to co-operate with the International Committee, in the restoration of the Library of the University of Louvain.

On the eleventh of November, the day on which the Armistice was signed, an appeal was issued, and one of the first active steps to be taken was to commission the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Clifford N. Carver, to wait upon the Rector of the University of Louvain, with an offer to rebuild the library. It is needless to say that the offer was gratefully accepted, and steps have already been taken for the designing of an up-to-date building by one of America's leading architects, whose plans will be submitted to the authorities of the University for their approval.

At the same time a sub-committee was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of the Congressional Library, to co-operate with the other national committees in the matter of providing the literary equipment of the projected new building. Dr. Putnam, who is at present in Europe, has been in communication with the writer, with a view to making arrangements between the two committees, so that duplication and overlapping may be obviated.

When we inaugurated the scheme described in the preceding pages, our aim, as we have explained already, was to replace the contents of the library, and we had little doubt of the success of our project, but we did not dare to anticipate any result so completely satisfactory as that which has been obtained through the enlightened generosity of our friends in America.

But for their timely intervention it is unlikely that the library building as well as its equipment could have been restored with anything approaching the same thoroughness and dispatch, for although the Peace Commissioners have announced their intention of exacting from the Germans full compensation for the damage which they inflicted

upon Belgium, considerable time is likely to elapse before such compensation will be forthcoming.

In the meantime the work of reconstruction and replacement will, in all probability, have been accomplished, but it must not be assumed, for that reason, that the Germans are to be relieved of their obligation to make reparation for their misdeeds at Louvain. On the contrary, full compensation will be exacted from them, and it is hoped that the funds so obtained will be devoted to the strengthening of the endowments of the University, so that the authorities may be relieved from financial anxiety in the laying of their plans for the future.

Singularly appropriate, and even prophetic, were the words which stood inscribed over the principal entrance to the University Halls :

Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum

and it is to be hoped that the same words, embodying as they do a confession of the faith which has sustained our friends throughout the years of their exile, will be given a prominent place over the main portal of the new library.

The chief purpose of this article is to invite further contributions either of books or money, in order that the gift library which the English Executive Committee, in co-operation with the Governors of the John Rylands Library, have in contemplation, may, in every sense, be worthy of the building which the United States National Committee have so generously undertaken to provide.

Hitherto the response to our appeals has been most encouraging, evidence of which is to be found in the accompanying list of contributors, which includes the names of 280 individuals and institutions, who have made gifts ranging from single volumes to substantial collections of some hundreds of volumes. The value of the gift cannot always be estimated from the number of volumes of which it consists, since many of the single volumes represent works of great importance and value. The volumes which we have actually received and registered number approximately 14,000, but each day brings fresh promises of help, and these are likely to increase rather than to diminish now that the fate of Louvain has been decided. If, therefore, we take also into account the definite offers of help which have been made and accepted, we may say that we are within reach of not less than 20,000 volumes.

That is a very substantial beginning for a new library, and we are

most grateful to those who have assisted us in the formation of such a collection ; but when it is compared with the library which we are anxious to replace, comprising as it did at least a quarter of a million of volumes, it can only be described as the nucleus, and it is obvious that very much more remains to be done if it is to approach anything like the equivalent of its predecessor.

In renewing our appeal we should like to explain that whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we have in contemplation, we are at the same time anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words, that its equipment should include the necessary material for research in the history, language, and literature of this country, together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. In the attainment of that object the learned societies of the Empire could render very material aid, by contributing sets of their transactions and publications. A number of these societies have already responded to our former appeal, notably : the Dilettanti Society, the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Henry Bradshaw Society, the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, the Malone Society, the Society of Franciscan Studies, the Royal Society of Literature, and the Society of Psychical Research, whilst Professor Gollancz, on behalf of the Early English Text Society, has promised a set of their publications ; but there are still many others whose co-operation we should welcome, and we feel sure that this appeal needs only to be brought to the notice of the responsible authorities to ensure a prompt and sympathetic response. We should be grateful, therefore, to our readers for any assistance they can render in that direction.

Amongst the societies whose help we should appreciate are the following : The Bibliographical Society, the Catholic Record Society, the Chetham Society, the Cymmrodorion Society, the Folk-Lore Society, the Hakluyt Society, the Harleian Society, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Historical Society, the Huguenot Society, the Irish Texts Society, the Scottish Texts Society, the Scottish History Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the British Academy, and the many scientific and local historical and archæological societies.

We are anxious also to enlist the sympathy and help of the Publishers, who have it in their power, more than any other section of the

community, to assist us in the building up of the collection on its modern side. If the library is to serve its purpose it must be a "live," up-to-date collection of books, in other words, it must be equipped with the latest authorities in every department of knowledge. Messrs. King & Co., the Parliamentary Publishers, of Westminster, very generously invited us to make an unrestricted selection of the works announced in their current catalogue, and as a result the collection was enriched by the addition of 175 volumes, which in themselves constitute a library of sociological literature of considerable interest and importance. Mr. Fisher Unwin has also offered a selection from the list of his own publications, and we should welcome similar offers from other publishers.

The University Presses of Manchester and Liverpool have already contributed sets of their publications, and we venture to express the hope that the presses of Oxford and of Cambridge may see their way to follow the enlightened example of those younger foundations.

The Trustees of the British Museum have made a most liberal and valuable contribution of the catalogues and other publications relating to the Departments at Bloomsbury, numbering 257 volumes; and have promised to make a further contribution of similar publications relating to the Natural History Museum.

There are many other Government Departments whose assistance would tend greatly to the enrichment of the collection, and it is our intention to appeal to the India Office, the Board of Education, and the Master of the Rolls, for sets of the publications issued under their authority, such as: the "Calendars of State Papers," the series of "Chronicles and Memorials," the "Historical Manuscript Commission's Reports," to mention only a few of the most important of these desiderata.

Another interesting feature in the accompanying list, which should not be overlooked, is the number of contributions which have been made in memory of deceased friends. In this way the names of several prominent scholars, recently deceased, have been commemorated, such as: Dean Church, Canon Scott Holland, Professor James Hope Moulton, Dr. Swete, and Professor Emmott; and we venture to suggest that there could be no more appropriate way of perpetuating the name of a relation or friend than by dedicating a gift, in this way, to their memory, in the interest of scholarship.

We appeal also for contributions of money to meet the many

expenses incidental to the organization of such a library. For example, there are a large number of the books already contributed which require binding, rebinding, or repairs at the hands of a binder, before they can be regarded as ready to be placed upon the shelves of the new building. Then, too, it often happens, in the course of our daily perusal of booksellers' catalogues, that sets of very important authorities, which are indispensable to the efficiency of any University library, come under our notice, and might be purchased with great advantage to the collection, had we the funds at our disposal for such a purpose. We venture, therefore, to appeal for contributions towards a fund to meet these and other contingencies.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts, would-be contributors are requested to send lists of the books they are willing to offer to : THE LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER ; or, to : THE LIBRARIAN OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W., who will collate the lists with the register of books already presented, write as to the acceptance of the volumes, and ask for them to be forwarded to : THE LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER, where the new library is in process of formation.

We welcome the news, which reaches us just as we are going to press, that the University of Louvain was re-opened on the 21st of January, under the presidency of Monsieur P. Ladeuze, Recteur Magnifique de l'Université, and it is confidently anticipated that, by the end of the year, the whole of the departments will be in full working, with their usual complement of about 3000 students.

Few further words are needed to emphasize the urgency of the need for the library which we have in contemplation, for without it both the staff and the students will be seriously handicapped in their work. We plead therefore for a prompt and liberal response to our appeal.

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ORIGIN AND MEANING OF APPLE CULTS.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,
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IN some recent investigations which I made into the origin of the Greek gods the suggestion was made that a number of the Olympian Divinities were personifications of or projections from the vegetable world. The plant or tree was first thought of animistically as being the residence of some virtue or potency, helpful or hurtful as the case might be, capable of being propitiated on the one hand, or employed in human service on the other : and it was not difficult to trace, in individual cases, the process of personification as the hidden life of the plant or tree became an animal form, a human form, or an ultimate deity. Amongst the cases which were discussed one of the most interesting was that of the great god Apollo, the lord of light and healing : it was suggested that the god was the personification of the healing virtue and solar attributes of the mistletoe, and particularly of the mistletoe as it is found growing upon the apple-tree ; and that the apple and its mistletoe are his original sacred symbols.

Moreover, since it is tolerably certain that Apollo in the Greek religion is a migration from the more northerly regions, and his mythical home is somewhere at the back of the North wind, it was not unnatural to suggest that the name by which he was known in the Hellenic world is not a Greek name at all, but itself a migration from some northern tribe : and it was audaciously affirmed that Apollo was only our apple in disguise.

One need not be surprised that such revolutionary views provoked sharp opposition. The religious conservatism of the scholarly world was offended, for scholars are still more pagan than Christian, and have never really lost faith in the more decent of the Olympian

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 23 October, 1917.

deities. The degradation of the great god of light to a spray of mistle-toe, or to an apple-tree would have been blasphemy in ancient times, and is academic blasphemy still.

Even those who were not the victims of hereditary religious conservatism found it hard to believe that there had been a northern apple-god, when no trace of such a divinity had even been detected, nor had any satisfactory parallel to Apollo turned up in the northern mythologies. It was not an unreasonable request, therefore, to be asked to produce one's apple-god in a definitely northern form, and to find the missing links between himself and our lord Phœbus. The object of the present lecture is to try and meet these criticisms and questionings.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE EXISTENCE OF APPLE CULTS.

ALL students of folk-lore are aware that, in collecting and comparing the quaint customs which still linger on the country-side, they are not merely dealing with customs, but with cults that underlie them, with misunderstood rituals and lost divinities ; in many cases the rituals and worships which are thus embalmed like flies in the amber of unchanging or slowly-changing popular habit, turn out to be the very earliest beliefs and the most primitive religious acts of the human race. For example, it will not be easy to find anything that takes one further back religiously or ritually than the Corn-baby, Corn-child, or Corn-mother of the harvest-field, of which so much has been written in recent years. Every surviving fragment of such a ritual is as valuable to us as a page of an early gospel which time has blurred, or whose first-hand has been overwritten. We see through it, down a long vista across which many shadows are cast, the reasons which made man a religious animal, and not merely the superstitions that keep him so. Of the customs of the corn-field there is not much more, perhaps, to be said ; the matter has had such exhaustive treatment at the hands of Mannhardt, Frazer, and others, that the field may be considered well reaped and satisfactorily gleaned, and there does not seem to be any last sheaf whose cutting might make the reputation of later investigators. In the case of the fruit-orchard, the inquiry has not gone so far, nor been so effective. If it should turn out, as we have recently suggested, that the ancestry of the god Apollo runs back into the apple-tree, in the same way as Demeter disappears into a peculiar bunch of corn-stalks, we can only say that Apollo was much more elusive than Demeter, and the identification of his origin is much more easy to contradict. Let us try to find out something more about apple-cults and the associated places where apple-sanctity has been recognised. We will begin with our own country where there are traces of recently expired

customs relating to the apple, which are in some respects parallel to those which occur, or used to occur until recently, in the harvest-field.

If we turn to Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, which is a storehouse of valuable observations of ancient customs, we shall find him describing practices which prevailed at a certain time of the year, in the orchards of Devonshire. He tells us that :—¹

"In most parts of the cyder-district a custom still prevails of what is called in ancient times 'wassailing the apple-trees'. This custom was accompanied by a superstitious belief, in the words of an old poet (see Herrick's *Hesperides*),

That more or less fruit they will bring,
As you do give them wassailing.

This ceremony at some places is performed on Christmas-eve. It consists in drinking a health to one of the apple-trees, with wishes for its good bearing, which generally turns out successful, as the best-bearing tree in the orchard is selected for the purpose. It is attended by the singing of some verses apposite to the occasion, beginning 'Health to thee, good apple-tree'. The potation consists of cyder, in which is put roasted apples or toast ; when all have drunk the remainder of the contents of the bowl are sprinkled on the apple-tree. The old Saxon term 'wassail' which is known to imply drinking of health is thus defined in the glossary of the Exmoor dialect : 'a drinking song sung on Twelfth-night eve, throwing toast to the apple-trees in order to have a fruitful year, which seems to be a relic of the heathen sacrifice to Pomona'."²

So far Lysons, who goes on to describe the cutting of the "neck" of the harvest in Devonshire, which we now know so well to be a tradition from the earliest strata of religion. So we naturally ask how we are to interpret the wassailing of the apple-trees. Is that also ancient ? The use of the term "wassail" for the ceremony shows that it has come down out of Saxon times ; but there is much more in the account than can be explained by a Saxon habit of drinking health to everybody and everything at a particular time of the year. It is clear that what the Devonshire rustics were engaged in was a veritable sacrament, in which they brought their deity to their deity and partook of their deity with their deity, under solid and liquid symbolism.

¹ Lysons, *Magna Britannia* (Devon), cccliv.

² Apparently this is from Grose, *Provincial Glossary*, 1790, v. *infra*.

Evidently we must try and find out some more about this interesting custom.

If we turn to Hazlitt's *Faiths and Folk-lore*, which incorporates most of the *Popular Antiquities* of Brand and Ellis, we shall find several accounts of apple-wassailing. We transcribe first an article on "Apple-Howling":—

"In several counties the custom of Apple-howling (or yuling) to which Herrick refers in his *Hesperides*, is still in observance. A troop of boys go round the orchards in Sussex, Devonshire, and other parts, and forming a ring about the trees, they repeat these doggerel-lines:—

Stand fast root, bear well top,
Pray God send us a good howling crop;
Every twig, apples big;
Every bough, apples enou;
Hats full, caps full;
Full quarter sacks full."

Hasted says: ¹ "There is an odd custom used in these parts about Keston and Wickham (in Kent) in Rogation-week: at which time a number of young men meet together for the purpose, and with a most hideous noise run into the orchards, and encircling each tree, pronounce these words:—

Stand fast root, bear well top;
God send us a youling sop,
Every twig, apple big,
Every bough, apples enow.

For which incantation the confused rabble expect a gratuity in money, or drink, which is no less welcome: but if they are disappointed in both, they with great solemnity anathematize the owners and trees with altogether as significant a curse." It is clear that we have evidence here, at least as far back as the end of the eighteenth century, when Hasted wrote his *History of Kent*, for the occurrence of some surviving ritual and magic in reference to the apple-tree.

Hazlitt continues: "It seems highly probable that this custom has arisen from the ancient one of perambulation among the heathens, when they made prayers to the gods for the use and blessing of the fruits coming up, with thanksgiving for those of the previous year;

¹ No reference is given, but it is clear from what follows that he is quoting Hasted's *History of Kent*.

and as the heathens supplicate Eolus, god of the winds, for his favourable blasts, so in this custom they still retain his name with a very small variation ; this ceremony is called Youling, and the word is often used in their invocations."

Thus far Brand-Hazlitt on the custom of apple-howling. We need not spend time over Eolus ; he is certainly not the deity involved in the act of youling : the texts are clear for Yule-tide, and this again takes us back to Saxon times, and shows us that if the youling-custom was attached to Rogation-week, it has been transferred to it from the Christmas season. So we need not spend further time over the perambulations of the *Ambarvalia*, or the chants of the *Litania Major*. Incidentally we note that, as we are not deriving our apple-ritual from Rome, we may remove the reference which Lysons has given us to Pomona.

Now let us see what Hazlitt has to report elsewhere. Under the heading of *Twelfth Night* we are told that "formerly it was custom in Devonshire on this night to drink hot cyder and eat cakes, and after the company had partaken of this entertainment to their satisfaction, they proceeded into the orchard, where they offered a portion to the apple-trees and pear-trees by laying a piece of cake on a bough of each, and pouring over it a libation of hot cyder. The men who happened to be present then fired a salute, and the women and girls sang in chorus,

Bear blue, apples and pears enou'
Barn fulls, bag fulls, sack fulls.
Hurrah ! Hurrah ! Hurrah !

There are several versions of the subjoined song : but that here given is correct in Devonshire on Twelfth Day :—

Apple-tree, apple-tree,
Bear apples for me :
Hats full, laps full,
Sacks full, caps full.
Apple-tree, apple-tree,
Bear apples for me.

"In the South-hams of Devonshire, on the Eve of the Epiphany, the farmer, attended by his workmen, with a large pitcher of cyder, goes to the orchard, and there, encircling one of the best-bearing trees, they drink the following toast three several times :—

Here's to thee, old apple-tree,
 Whence thou may's't bud, and whence thou may's't blow !
 And whence thou may's't bear apples enow !
 Hats full, caps full !
 Bushel—bushel—sacks full,
 And my pockets full to ! Huzza !”

“On the Eve of Twelfth Day, as a Cornishman informed Mr. Brand, on the edge of St. Stephen's Down, 28 October, 1790, it is the custom for the Devonshire people to go after supper into the orchard, with a large milkpan full of cyder, having roasted apples pressed into it. Out of this each person in company takes what is called a clayen cup, *i.e.*, an earthenware cup full of liquor, and standing under each of the more fruitful apple-trees, passing by those that are not good bearers, he addresses it in the following words :—

Health to thee, good apple-tree,
 Well to bear, pocket-fulls, hat-fulls,
 Peckfulls, bushel-bag-fulls !

And then drinking up part of the contents, he throws the rest with its fragments of the roasted apples at the tree. At each cup the company set up a shout.”

This last reference appears to be taken from Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*.¹

Now suppose we turn to Grose's *Provincial Glossary*, which is almost contemporary with Hasted (I quote from the second edition of 1790), we shall find, “Watsail. A drinking song, sung on Twelfth-day Eve, throwing toast to the apple-trees, in order to have a fruitful year : which seems to be a relic of the heathen sacrifice to Pomona. Wassail. Exm.,” which concluding words I take to mean that *wat-sail* is *wassail*, and that the custom referred to is an Exmoor custom. Grose has probably taken it from a *Glossary of the Exmoor Dialect*.

We learn something fresh from this reference. The custom is called wassail, and so is connected naturally (but not exclusively) with Yule-tide. The throwing of toast must be noted, for it explains the line in Hasted's account, when prayer is made that

God send us a good youling sop ;

i.e., a Yule-tide toast, as we shall see more clearly presently. Pomona

¹ Ed. Chester, 1771, p. 91.

may be dismissed, and Yule has clearly the right of way against the howling Eolus, as already pointed out.

Now let us see whether we can get some further evidence as to the wassail-song and the wassail-customs in reference to the apple-trees on the Eve of Twelfth Day.

We quoted just now from Hazlitt-Brand a reference for apple-howling to the *Hesperides* of the poet Herrick. The passage is as follows :—¹

Wassalle the Trees, that they may beare
You many a Plum, and many a Peare :
For more or less fruit they will bring
As you do give them Wassailing.

From this verse we learn several things ; Herrick may be taken as an authority for the West of England, and for Devonshire in particular ; the *Hesperides*, which, as its name implies, is a Western production, was published in 1648. So the custom of wassailing the trees prevailed in Devonshire in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was not at this time limited to apple-trees, but was a general charm to make all fruit-trees prolific in the coming year. The name of "wassail" by which the custom is covered goes back naturally to Saxon times.

It is interesting to notice the modification of the word in country districts where it was no longer understood. In Mrs. Latham's *West Sussex Superstitions* we find the following statement :—

"It is the custom in the cider districts of Sussex to *worsle* the apple-trees on New Year's Eve, and for several succeeding days, and it is considered unlucky to omit doing so."²

Here *worsle* is a debased form of *wassail* in Sussex dialect. Apparently, in some parts of Yorkshire, the term *wassail* was corrupted to *vessel* ; for it is said that "it was usual to carry about the *vessel-cup* at Christmas, and sing carols, with a view to collect money. This was done in 1813, and perhaps later, at Holderness and in other parts of Yorkshire. The cup was sometimes accompanied by *an image of Christ and roasted apples*."³

We shall see presently that the roasted apples are properly a part of the ritual of wassailing the orchard, and it is significant that an image

¹ Ed. Moorman, p. 264.

² Quoted also in *Folk-Lore Record* (1878), 13.

³ Hazlitt-Brand, p. 620.

of Christ is carried in the procession. Does this belong to the wassailing of the trees, or is it merely a reminiscence of Christmas generally ? At all events the roasted apples should be noted, and the disappearance of the ancient word which covers the ceremonies.

To return to Mrs. Latham's account of the "worsling" of the trees in Sussex : she continues :—

"Farmers give a few pence to the worslers, who form a circle round the trees and sing at the top of their voices :—

Stand fast root,
Bear well top,
Pray God send us
A good howling crop.
Every twig
Apples big,
Every bough,
Apples enow.
Hats full, caps full,
Full quarter sacks full,
Holla, boys, holla ! Huzza !

and then all shout in chorus, with the exception of one boy who blows a loud blast on a cow's horn. Last New Year's Eve the mother of a sick boy told me that her poor child was sadly put out because he was not able to *worsle* his grandfather's apple-trees ; and it is quite certain that both mother and child expected a total failure of the apple-crop in the grandfather's orchard to follow the omission."

We can add something to Mrs. Latham's account of the Sussex ceremonies : a writer in *Notes and Queries* tells us that "in the neighbourhood of Chailey (some miles to the north of Lewes) . . . a troop of boys visit the different orchards," and after repeating the chant before-mentioned, they "shout in chorus, one of the boys accompanying them on the cow's horn : during the ceremony *they rap the trees with their sticks*".¹

In West Somerset they fire guns, apparently, at the trees : the point should be taken in connection with the just-mentioned beating of the trees with the sticks. The whole custom for this part of Somerset is described as follows :—

"On Old Christmas Eve (5 January), or the Eve of the Epiphany, it was the custom not long since, and may be still, for the

¹ *N. and Q.* (1852), 1st Ser., v., 293.

farmer, with his men, to go out into the orchard, and to place toast steeped in cider, along with a jug of the liquor, up in the 'vork' of the biggest apple-tree, by way of libation ; then all say,

Apple-tree, apple-tree,
I wassail thee !
To blow and to bear,
Hat vulls, cap vulls,
Dree-bushel-bag-vulls.
And my pockets vull too !
Hip ! Hip ! Hooraw !

(Bang with one or more guns.) This ceremony and formula is repeated several times at different trees, with fresh firing of guns. I can well remember quite a fusillade from various orchards on Old Christmas Eve."¹

There are very ancient features in this account which do not appear in the customs of the Sussex villagers. First and foremost there is the presentation of the toast and cider to the biggest apple-tree in the orchard, which is supposed to partake of the offering ; the ritual is now turned into a communion service.

As we go further West we come across more traces of this curious custom.

In Hunt's *Popular Romances*,² we are told with regard to the "drinking to the Apple-trees on Twelfth Night Eve," that "in the eastern part of Cornwall, and in western Devonshire, it was the custom to take a milk-pail full of cider, into which roasted apples had been broken, into the orchard. This was placed as near the centre of the orchard as possible, and each person, taking a *clomben*³ cup of the drink, goes to different apple-trees, and addresses them as follows :—

Health to the (/ thee) good apple-tree ;
Well to bear, pocketfuls, hatfuls,
Peckfuls, bushel-bagfuls.

Drinking part of the contents of the cup, the remainder, with the fragments of roasted apples, is thrown at the tree, all the company shouting aloud."

Mrs. Whitcombe in *Bygone Days of Devon and Cornwall*⁴ tells

¹ Elworthy, *West Somerset Word-Book*.

² P. 175.

³ *Clome* for *China* is still in use in W. Cornwall, or was in my early days.

⁴ P. 27.

the same story with slight variations : " They carry with them to the orchard a pitcher of cider and some cake. They hang pieces of this on *the branches of one of the trees, and sprinkle the cider over its roots.*"

It is further noted that " it is customary in some parts *to fire at the apple-trees*, and several guns are called into requisition for this purpose".

Here the pieces of cake in the branches replace the toast in the primitive account. A special tree is the centre of the ritual, and our conjecture that the trees were actually fired at is confirmed. That the toast is actually soaked in the cider appears from the statement in Tozer's *Poems* that " it was the custom for the country people to sing a wassail or drinking song, and throw the toast from the wassail-bowl to the apple-trees, in order to have a fruitful year ".¹

The general question of wassailing is summed up as follows by the editor of *Folk-Lore* in the year 1902 (pp. 95-6) :—

" The custom of wassailing and carrying a vessel-cup are noticed in Ellis's *Brand*, i., 1, 45 ; Henderson (2nd edn., 64-8), and *Gent. Mag. Library* (*Popular Superstitions*), 16, 76. The information given may be summarised as follows : Wassailing, or health-drinking from a bowl or loving-cup was a usual accompaniment of Christian feasting, sometimes extended to the orchards and oxen. The favourite liquor was ' lambswool,' a mixture of ale, spices, and roasted apples. In many places parties of wassailers went about visiting the neighbouring houses singing their good wishes and carrying a bowl with apples, which the hosts were expected to fill with ale, or money to purchase it. But the custom of carrying a representation of the Madonna seems to have been confined to Northumbria, where the name ' vessel-cup ' and the apples are the only relics of the wassail-bowl which, one supposes, once accompanied it."

The writer did not get very far in his researches into the origin of wassailing, but he sees that the apples belong to the original function, and in the roasted form. How else could one explain the term " lambswool ".

Here is another small indication of the importance of the apple in the composition of wassail :—

" The Antiquarian Repertory (1775) contains a rude woodcut of

¹ Tozer, *Poems* (1863), p. 65.

a bowl carved on an oaken beam, which had formed a portion of an ancient chimney recess. The vessel rests on the branches of an apple-tree, alluding, perhaps, Sir Henry Ellis suggests, to part of the materials of which the liquor was composed" (Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions*, p. 61).

Another point that comes up in the *Folk-Lore* Summary is the carrying of an image, this time of the Madonna in Northumbria. But here, again, we cannot assume that the image is an archaic feature of the ceremony, for the Yule-tide includes Christmas, and so the Madonna and the Christ may have come in on their own account, without any link with the sacred apple-tree.

It is likely that a good deal of confusion has arisen in the wassail ceremonies through the change in date of the Christmas festival from the Twelfth Night or Old Christmas Day (the Epiphany) to its present position. The wassail-bowl moved back when the date for Christmas receded, and the wassail-ceremony for the orchards remained on the old Christmas Eve. In modern times the wassailing date underwent, perhaps, another slight change in some quarters; it was moved from Twelfth Night Eve to Twelfth Night itself; here is a bit of West-country talk reported in 1908: "Thicky Twelfth Night is not the hraight day for wassailing the arpul trees. Her should be doned on *Old Twelfth Night*, not on old Christmas Day," said the ancient sage of Stockland in January, 1908.¹ Apparently this means that the old West-country custom had moved forward a day.

There is, however, some evidence from Somerset that the wassailing of the orchards was moved back with the wassail-bowl, and perhaps the Christmas ceremonies, to Christmas Eve, and it may be to this that the aged rustic refers. Lysons, whom we quoted above, wassails the trees on Christmas Eve. In Poole's *Customs, Superstitions, and Legends of the County of Somerset*, 1877, pp. 6, 7, we find the following account of the Yule-log and the wassailing:—

"*The burning of the Ashen Faggot on Christmas Eve* is an ancient ceremony transmitted to us from the Scandinavians, who, at their feast of Yuul, were accustomed to kindle huge bonfires in honour of Thor. The faggot is composed of ashen-sticks, looped round with bands of the same tree, nine in number. When placed on the fire fun

¹ C. N. Whistler, "Sundry Notes from West Somerset and Devon," *Folk-Lore*, 1908, p. 91.

and jollity commence. . . . Every time the bands crack by reason of the heat of the fire, all present are supposed to drink liberally of the cider, or egg-hot, a mixture of cider, eggs, etc. The reason why ash is selected in preference to any other timber is, that tradition assigns it as the wood with which Our Lady kindled a fire in order to wash her new-born Son. In some places it is customary for the yeoman and his family to proceed to the orchard, one of the party bearing a hot cake and cider, *as an offering to the best-bearing apple-tree*, and after depositing the cake on the tree the cider is poured on the latter amid the firing off of guns and pistols, the women and children shouting,

Bear blue, apples and pears enough,
Barns full, bags full, sacks full,
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!"

Here again the Madonna appears to be an intrusion from the Christian side, and the date of the wassailing has receded in accordance with later Christian reckoning, but the ceremony itself is very archaic. One tree stands out clearly as the object to be fêted, and it is difficult to resist the feeling that the shooting of the guns is meant for the tree, or for some representative of the tree.

In 1686 Aubrey published his *Remains of Gentilisme*, and in this invaluable little book for the folklorist (it has been reproduced in recent times by the Folk-Lore Society) we find reference to the wassailing of the apple-trees in Somersetshire. Aubrey notes as follows:—

"Memorandum that *non obstante* the change of Religion, the Ploughboies, and also the Schooleboies will keep-up and retaine their old ceremonies and customes and priviledges, which in the West of England is used still (and I believe) in other parts. So in Somersetshire when the wassaile (which is on . . . I think Twelve-Eve) the Ploughmen have their Twelve-cake, and they go into the Ox-house to the Oxen, with the Wassell-bowl and drink to the ox with crumpled horne, that treads out the corne; they have an old concerned rhythme; and afterwards they goe with their Wassel-bowle into the orchard and goe about the trees to blesse them, and putt a piece of tost upon the roots in order to it."

Here we again have seventeenth century evidence for the custom of wassailing the trees of the orchard in the West of England, accompanied by a curious extension of the wassailing to the cattle. Aubrey notes

that for the participation of the tree in the offering, the toast is placed, not in the branches, but at the roots. We had one case of this previously.

Similar results to our own have been reached by Mr. A. B. Cook, who has studied the legends in the Celtic literature with such astonishing industry and effect.¹ He finds out, in fact, from these legends, that the apple-tree was almost as sacred as the oak, that it had nearly as good a claim as the oak to the title *King of the Wood*, that on the one hand it represented the Sky-God, and on the other the life of a king or hero with whom it was associated. Mr. Cook suggests that the "religious or mythological transition from oak-tree to apple-tree corresponds to an actual advance in pre-historic civilisation. Tribes that were once content to subsist upon acorns and wild fruits in general learnt gradually the art of cultivating the more edible varieties of the latter, and so came in the course of many centuries to keep well-stocked orchards. . . . The apple in particular, the oldest cultivated fruit-tree in Europe, is felt to be the equivalent to the oak." The divergence between Mr. Cook's views and those of Dr. Frazer is not serious, it is a case of the expansion of an argument, not of its contradiction. Our own method confirms Mr. Cook's results from an opposite direction, *viz.*, the unnoticed survival of an apple-ritual, the centre of whose devotion was an apple-spirit.

At this point we may review the evidence which we have collected ; there would be more of it, but, unfortunately, my notes are lying somewhere at the bottom of the Mediterranean, and so we suffer from incompleteness at the hands of the war-god. Enough has been brought forward to show that we have unearthed a genuine ritual of which the apple-tree is the centre. This apple-tree, by preference the biggest or best or oldest of the orchard, and on that account entitled to be called (if the High Priest of Nemi will permit the appellation) the King of the Wood, is regarded as a sentient being capable of sacramental participation with its worshippers under two species : toast soaked in cider, with roasted apples form the one species ; cider, which is the life-blood of the tree, forms the other. The offering is shared between the divinity and the worshippers, and the offering is the divinity. Every side of sacrificial communion is here represented. The offering

¹ I refer to the papers on the "European Sky-God" in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv., 1904, etc.

has an especial magical value ; it is a charm for fertility, and perhaps a reminiscence of previous fertility. For our purposes the most important point is that the whole of these ceremonies involve the personification of the tree itself, which cannot be thought of as partaking of apples and cider, except by humane analogy. This, then, was the first point that we had to establish, namely, that there is evidence of a surviving ritual of the apple-tree, which would almost inevitably result in the projection of the tree into a personal form, just in the same way as the oak-tree inhabited by the lightning becomes the woodpecker and ultimately Zeus himself. We have not, as yet, supplied evidence to enable us to say whether there was an annual death of the apple-spirit celebrated, nor whether it was a death by violence ; nor can we say whether the image of Christ, which appears to have been carried about by wassailers in Yorkshire, has replaced an earlier image. Further investigations may throw light on these points. All that we have proved is the existence of an apple-tree spirit as an object of cult. That is the reply, the first stage of the reply, to those who say that there is no trace of an apple-god in the north of Europe. Let us see whether we can take further steps to capture this elusive apple-spirit. !

CHAPTER II.

THE APPLE-BIRD AND THE APPLE-BOY.

WE may supplement our statements as to the custom of wassailing the apple-trees in Devonshire by extracts from a special report made on the subject by a Committee on Devonshire Folk-Lore, whose report is printed in *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* for 1905 (vol. xxxvii.). The extracts which follow will show how late the custom persisted (it may still be extant for all I know), and will introduce to us the apple-spirit under a new form. Mr. R. H. Jordan of Teignmouth says : " I remember in my younger days (a long time ago) being told of the custom of *firing at the apple-trees on the night of Twelfth Day*, being carried out in several country places in Devonshire ; and I especially remember an old gentleman, who had resided for many years at Bovey Tracey, informing me that when it was done there was a song sung, a part of which I remember :—

Bear and blow,
Apples enow,
Hats full, caps full, bushels full, etc."

In *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., p. 113, Mr. Henry Gibbon communicates (1) a curious parallel to the cult of the fruit-tree from Japan, (2) a report of the Devonshire custom taken from the Christmas number of the *Illustrated London News* for 1901.

1. Dr. Aston, late British Consul at Seoul, writes : " There is a custom in Japan, in places where there are fruit-trees, for two men to go to the orchard on the last day of the year. *One of the men climbs up a tree*, while the other stands at the bottom, axe in hand. The latter, addressing the tree, asks whether it will bear fruit well or not in the coming year ; otherwise it will be cut down. Then the man up in the tree replies, ' I will bear well '. The effect of this little drama

is said to be very satisfactory." We add an illustration of the Japanese custom from a Carian coin, which appears to have a similar meaning.¹



PLATE I

2. In this case (the Devonshire custom) the means adopted was bribery, not intimidation. On Christmas Day the owner of the orchard and his people place a cake on the fork of an apple-tree and pour wine on it, while the women chant a chorus, "Bear barns full, sacks full, bags full".

The Japanese parallel is very interesting, as one of the men employed is put up into the tree to answer for the tree. *For the occasion he is the tree-spirit.* (Parallels not very remote can be found in the Gospels.)²

Mr. Gibbon inquired for further details as to the custom, and educed a shoal of references, many of which have been already alluded to.

It is noted that Mrs. Bray in 1832 in her book *Borders of the Tamar and Tavy*, 1879, vol. i., p. 290, was apparently the first to mention "placing bits of toast on the branches".

"A writer in *Notes and Queries* for 1851 (1st series, iv., p. 309) speaks of a preliminary feasting, at which hot wheat flour cakes were dipped in the cider and eaten : later in the evening a cake was deposited on a fork of the tree and cider thrown over it, etc."

We come next to a very important communication, taken from the *Transactions of the Devon Association*, vol. viii., p. 49. "Miss Pinchard [of Tor, Torquay] in 1876 says that *a little boy was hoisted up into the tree, and seated on a branch. He was to represent a tom-tit, and sit there crying 'Tit, tit, more to eat' ; on which some of the bread and cheese and cider was handed up to him.*"

¹ See British Mus. Coins, Caria, vi., 7.

² Professor Elliot Smith draws my attention to a statement in Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes* (i., 5, n. 1) ; "Près de Messine et lorsque le Christ est ressuscité, les paysans qui ont des arbres steriles, vont pour les couper ; un compagnon qui est toujours présent intercède en faveur des arbres qu'on laisse vivre dans l'espoir que le Christ resuscité les a fécondés".

Mr. A. P. Chope, who draws attention to this feature, makes the parallel with the Japanese custom described above and says acutely that "the boy is evidently the personification of the spirit of the apple-tree, and the libations and offerings are intended to propitiate the spirit in order to obtain a good crop in the coming year. The firing of guns may possibly be intended to frighten away the evil spirits of blight and disease ; but, as this seems to be a recent addition to the custom, its object is more likely to emphasise the shouting."

What the writer did not see was that there was another personification of the tree looking out upon us, just as the woodpecker looks out from the oak-tree over the shoulder of Zeus. This time it is a tom-tit ! The suggestion arises that there was an annual sacrifice of an apple-tree bird, just as there still survives an annual ceremonial slaughter of a woodpecker in the Carpathian mountains. The account in which the boy eats the sacramental bread and drinks the sacramental cider on behalf of the tree is very suggestive. Mr. Chope saw clearly that the firing of guns was late, but here he drifted into rationalism, not suspecting that the guns had replaced earlier weapons of attacking the tree-spirit.

We might note that, if the trees are actually fired at or beaten, whether in their own bodies or in their personifications, it is just as correct to speak of the ritual as intimidation as it is to call it bribery.

Mr. Chope's communication brought out one from Mr. P. F. S. Amery, showing that the custom was common in the Ashburton district down to the fifties, and continued for some time later. "All the old men spoke of it as having been usual in their younger days. The last occasion in which I took part was on 5 January, 1887, when a party of young men proceeded to our orchard and vigorously saluted the trees with volleys from shotted guns, accompanied by cider drinking, shouting the old charm :—

Here's to thee, old apple tree, etc."

Then follows some more unnecessary rationalism as to the possible good effect of the firing of guns in detaching insects from the bark, etc.

In *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., p. 156, Mr. H. C. Adams writes that the trees are charmed in different ways at different places. "I never saw it done in Devonshire, but in my early days I lived in Somersetshire, in the parish of Winchcombe, about four miles over the border from Devonshire, and the custom was regularly kept

up there, and I believe it is still, and I have often seen it, and the ceremony was as follows :—

“On the evening (*query*, on the eve) of Twelfth Day a number of people formed a circle round one of the apple-trees ; some had guns, some old tin kettles, or any tin tray or other thing that would make a loud noise when struck with a poker or fire-shovel. Then the leader of the party sang a song of which I can only remember one verse :—

There was an old man,
And he had an old cow,
And how to keep her he didn't know how :
So he built up a barn
To keep this cow warm,
And a little more cider would do us no harm.
Harm, my boys, harm !
Harm, my boys, harm !
A little more cider would do us no harm.

The guns were fired and tea-kettles and trays banged, and *then all stooped down, and raising themselves up three times shouted, 'Now, now, now : hats full, caps full, three bushel bags full, and a little heap under the stairs ; please God send a good crop,' and then 'Now, now, now,' again, and more gun-firing and kettle-banging, after which the cider was passed round and another verse was sung with the same ceremony '.*”

There are some archaic touches about this. The people stooping three times and lifting themselves up, is a bit of sympathetic magic to represent the lifting and carrying of heavily laden bags of apples. It seems to be a part of the primitive ritual, and to be connected with the three bushel bags in the chant, which we have found elsewhere.

In this account the gun-firing is clearly a case of making as much noise as possible ; that is shown by the accompaniment, but this idea need not be regarded as archaic. The guns may have replaced arrows.

Note.—As Miss Pinchard's communication is so important, I print in a note the full text as follows :—

“*Blessing of Apple-trees.* A few years ago, hearing that the ceremony of ‘blessing the apple-trees’ had been celebrated a night or two before in an orchard close to my house, in the parish of Tormohun, I sent for one of the party who had been officially engaged in the affair to tell me all particulars concerning it.

“He told me that, after partaking of a good supper provided by the owner of the orchard, they all, men, women, and children, proceeded to the

orchard, carrying with them a supply of bread, cheese, and cider. They then, all being assembled under one of the best apple-trees, hoisted a little boy up and seated him on a branch. *He, it seems, was to represent a tom-tit*, and sat there crying out: 'Tit, tit; more to eat'; on which some of the bread and cheese and cider was handed up to him. He still *sitting in the tree*, the whole party stood round, each being provided with a little cup, which was forthwith filled with cider, and they then sang the following toast:—

Here's to thee, good apple-tree,
To bear and blow, apples enow,
This year, next year, and the year after too;
Hatsful, capsful, three-bushel bagsful,
And pay the farmer well.

"They then drank all round and fired a salute to the trees, making as much noise as possible with all the pistols, guns, or other old firearms they could collect; or, failing such, with explosions of gunpowder placed in holes bored in pieces of wood, accompanying the salute with loud cheering and then *firing into the branches of the trees*."

"They then again stood round, and, after another cup of cider, sang:—

To your wassail, and my wassail,
And joy be to our jolly wassail;

which concluded the ceremony. This is done in dead of winter; and in some cases, buckets of cider with roasted apples floating in them are carried out, and *the apple-trees pelted with the apples*; but I am not sure whether he said this was done on the occasion of which I write."

Here is one more account which has reached me from an old newspaper cutting, describing the custom of wassailing. It is valuable, because it contains a new method of making the apple-tree drink its own cider. This time, the branches of the tree are actually dipped in the liquid, instead of pouring it out over the root. There is no doubt that the tree drinks. Evidence on that point is cumulative and final.

"Quaint New Year Customs.

"Wassailing the orchard. A New Year custom in the cider counties. After serenading the farmer, the rustics make a 'cheerful noise' in the orchard, dipping a branch of each apple-tree into a jar of cider, and exhorting them to be fruitful during the coming season.

"It is in the cider-producing counties in the West of England, Devon, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hereford that one of the most picturesque of old-time New Year customs still survives. The ceremony is called 'wassailing the orchard,' and it is supposed to ensure a good crop of apples for the ensuing season. A body of villagers first serenade the

farmer whose apple-trees they have come to bless with a song several verses in length, of which the first is :—

Wassail, wassail, all over the town,
The cup is white and the ale is brown :
Our bowl is made of the good maple-tree,
And so is the beer of the best of barlie.
For it's your wassail, and our wassail,
And jolly come to our merry wassail.

“ Having been refreshed, the wassailers proceed to the orchard and surround various chosen trees, making a ‘ cheerful noise ’ with pokers, tongs, and any piece of metal that may be at hand. There they dip a branch of each tree in a large jar of cider which has been brought for the purpose, and afterwards place a little salt and some crumbs in the angle formed by the tree in the lowest bough. This ceremony is accompanied by the singing of :—

Cadbury ¹ tree
I am come to wassail thee,
To bear and to blow,
Apples enow,
Hatfuls, capfuls, and three cornered sackfuls,
Hollo, boys, Ho !

rendered by the full strength of the company. This quaint custom is carried out both on New Year's Eve and New Year's Night, and in some districts on Old Twelfth Night also.”

The study of the folk-lore of the custom of wassailing the apple-trees has involved frequent repetitions, and some of the writers quoted are not independent of one another. It was necessary to collect as many references as were accessible, because it often happens in the pursuit of a lost custom of antiquity that one fragment of the rite is found in one place and another fragment in another, so that it is only by a careful collection of the fragments that we can restore the original mosaic, so as to make intelligible history. For example, in the preceding inquiry, we found little more at the first search than a charm for fertility which appeared in the guise of a communion service, with some traces of violence offered to the tree which was the centre of the rite : and it was not until we unearthed the Torquay custom of sending a boy up into the tree and pretending that the boy was a bird, that we had the parallel personification to the woodpecker as Zeus in the oak-tree.

¹ Query, the charm as performed in the village of Cadbury.

If the object of putting the bird-boy into the tree is the personification of the tree for ritual purposes, it is also clear from what has preceded that the ritual is a charm for fertility : and we are entitled to make parallels with similar cults in other quarters. For example, the practice of the Huzuls in the Carpathian mountains is to ceremonially kill and eat the sacred woodpecker once a year. Is there any trace of a similar sacrifice of the apple-bird ? Did they kill and eat the tom-tit in primitive Devonshire ? As soon as we state the question, we recall to mind the curious custom of killing the wren on St. Stephen's Day, which still prevails in the Isle of Man, in Ireland, in France, and elsewhere. It is a natural supposition that the tom-tit may really be a wren.¹ The custom of killing the wren has been carefully studied by a number of investigators, notably by Sir J. G. Frazer in the second volume of the *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild* (p. 319). We learn that in the Isle of Man on Christmas Eve the wren is hunted and carried in procession with quaint rhymes. "Boys went from door to door with a wren suspended by the legs in the centre of two hoops, which crossed each other at right angles and were decorated with evergreens and ribbons." On St. Stephen's Day, 26 December, the wren was buried, but it is significantly reported that "the bearers say certain lines in which reference is made to boiling and eating the bird". No doubt this was the earlier form of the rite, before the practice of burying the bird. The coincidence with the woodpecker cult is here very close.

The Irish sing a song over the wren describing him as the *King of all birds* :—

The wren, the wren, *the King of all birds*,
 St. Stephen's Day was caught in the furze :
 Although he is little his family's great,
 I pray you, good landlady, give us a treat.

Elsewhere in South Wales and in France the ceremonies of King Wren are practised on Twelfth Day, which brings it very close to the wassailing time of the apple-trees. In one district in France the person who finds the wren becomes himself the King, is decorated with mock royalty, and the wren is carried before him "fastened on the top of a pole which is adorned with a verdant wreath of olive, of oak, and

¹ The transition is quite easy ; in Norfolk, for instance, the wren is actually known as a tom-tit. Swainson, *Folk-Lore of Birds*, p. 35.

sometimes of *mistletoe grown on an oak*". Here we have the second degree of personification which answers to the Devonshire boy who is the tom-tit.

Suppose then we replace the tom-tit by the wren, and agree that the cult involves an actual sacrifice ; can we see any further through the mists of antiquity and into the beliefs of the past ? Perhaps we can get a step or two further.

It is natural to suspect that if the wren has been replaced by the tom-tit, it has itself replaced the robin : for according to popular tradition the robin is the mate of the wren ; according to the popular rhyme :—

The robin and the wren
Are God's cock and hen.¹

This takes us at once into the region of known thunder-birds, who are sacred on account of their colour symbolism. There is, however, another reason which can be adduced for the displacement : it will be remembered that what we are studying is a charm for fertility : now in such charms, the female has the right of way against the male : because the woman is the fertile element in humanity, and in that sense agriculture is necessarily of the woman. That is why the wren replaces the robin : but if this be so, we should expect that the human representative would be not a boy in the tree, but a girl ; or at least, that the sacrificial representative of the tree should be a girl by preference. Apart from this consideration, the tree itself, considered as fruit-bearing, is commonly regarded as feminine, which leads again to a feminine personification. Do we find any trace of such a choice, or of an alternative custom ?

The evidence which we have so far collected does not help us to answer the question, and the only modern custom that suggests something of the kind is that, in some parts of the south of France, there is a rivalry between the men and women of a district as to which of them shall capture the wren for the Twelfth Day ceremonies. But if there is no evidence from Devonshire, and no conclusive evidence from France, when we turn to Greek Archæology, we can readily find what we are in search of.

¹ The wren is called the King of Birds in the ceremonies for his slaughter, but I am informed that in some parts of the Isle of Man, it is known as the Queen of Birds, which expresses its feminine nature, and connects it, as above, with the robin, as the original King of Birds.

Up to the present point in the discussion, we have not drawn at all on classical parallels, being content to restore from modern practice and tradition the apple-cult with its boy-and-bird personification and sacrifice. Let us now see if we can find Greek illustrations of charms for fertility involving the placing of a girl in the branches of the tree that is to be fertilised. If we can find such illustrations they will be a just parallel to our apple-boy. The tree in question, which we are to search for, need not be an apple-tree, but it should be, one would naturally suppose, a fruit-tree, for otherwise there is no special object in its fertilisation.

Those who are familiar with Greek numismatics know that there is a superb series of Cretan coins, chiefly of the city of Gortyna, which have on one side of them a female figure seated in the branches of a tree, variously described as Europa or Britomartis. The maiden is visited or at all events accompanied, by a bird, variously recognised as the eagle of Zeus (*i.e.*, Zeus in the form of an eagle), or some much



PLATE II

PLATE III

smaller bird (which may be the eagle again, on the hypothesis that Zeus made himself small to avoid scaring the maiden!). Mr. A. B. Cook points out, by setting some of these coins in series, that the conjunction of the bird and the maiden is accompanied by a bursting into life and leaf of the tree.¹ Here are two of such coins, one from the British Museum (Crete, Pl. X. 5), the other from the Maclean Collection.

All that I am concerned with at this point, is that the presence of the girl in the tree accompanied by the bird is a charm for fertility, and that we have before us the exact parallel to the Devonshire boy and the tom-tit : or if it is not quite exact, the variation, may, perhaps, lie

¹ He thinks it is a pollard willow, which is something like transplanting Cambridge into Crete. According to Theophrastus it was a plane-tree, a statement which appears to have had wide currency.

in the fact that the boy is sacrificed, and the girl, perhaps, ceremonially married. The end in either case is the same, the securing of the next year's crop or harvest.

Now let us go a little further and see if we can find the boy in the tree as well as the girl.

Among the coins of Phaestos in Crete we find representations of a god, or at least a tree-spirit equivalent to a god, seated in a tree and holding in his hand a cock. The figure is commonly described as Zeus Felcanos, the latter name being inscribed across the coin.¹ Here, then,



PLATE IV

we have the same conjunction of bird-form and human-form with the tree-form. The tree is evidently the same leafless tree as in the Gortyna coins; like these coins too (it is a point to be noted), the tree has a strongly defined hollow, which may be an original woodpecker-hole. In any case, the tree is hollow.

Comparing the Phaestos coins with those of Gortyna, we see that in each case we have a tree-spirit posing for fertility in the branches under the twofold representation of bird and human being. The Phaestos-figure is called Zeus, on the faith of a gloss of Hesychius that Felcanos is a name of Zeus among the Cretans. It is a very young Zeus, if it is Zeus, and certainly not the father of gods and men. Svoronos describes him as follows:—

“Zeus Felchanos représenté comme jeune homme nu, assis à gauche sur un arbre, posant la main droite sur un coq, debout à gauche sur ses genoux, s'appuyant de la gauche sur l'arbre.”

The boy-Zeus, as I may now call him, is the proper Greek parallel to the Devonshire lad who is both tree and tom-tit. If there had been any coins of Torquay, they would have shown the same kind of features as we find in the coins of Gortyna and Phaestos.²

¹ We give a reproduction of the British Museum Coin (Crete, Pl. XV, 10).

² The reference which was made above to the hollow in the tree is important, for the hollow is clearly conventional and stands for something. In

As a result of our investigations we are now entitled to restore the ritual of the killing of the wren to connection with the ritual of the wassailing of the apple-tree. They are parts of the same ceremony. The wren is missing in the Devonshire ceremony, because the bird has been replaced by a boy (or perhaps a girl). The crossed hoops, however, in which the body of the wren is suspended, we have seen to be a part of the ritual of wassailing among the Wiltshire rustics ; and a cow-horn which is blown by a lad in the Sussex orchards was an especial feature of the ceremony of killing the wren in Manxland.¹

The parallelism between the apple-cults, the oak-cult, and the cult of the corn-field, is now seen to be very close. In each case we have charms for fertility, addressed to the spirit (corn-spirit, tree-spirit) that is involved.

Thus we have a series of personifications :—

Oak-tree or Thunder.

Woodpecker or Thunder-bird (probably killed and eaten at an annual ceremony).

Zeus or Thunder-god (perhaps preceded by an intermediate stage of oak-boy or oak-girl. The latter, perhaps, the Cretan Europa.)

For the corn-field, we have the corn-spirit as

Last sheaf in the field

Corn-dolly or corn-animal (wolf, cat, pig, man) sacrificed and sometimes eaten.

Corn-mother or Corn-maid. (Demeter and Persephonē.)

For the apple-cult, which is clearly related to the oak-cult, we have

Apple-tree (containing Sky-god through mistletoe).

Apple-bird (Robin, Wren, Tom-tit), probably killed and eaten at an annual ceremony.

Apple-boy or Apple-girl.

Apple-god (Apollo, Balder, or some similar identification).

It has been suggested above that the *killing of the wren* was really a preliminary to the *eating of the wren* ; that is, that the bird

its later forms an incuse square with a well-defined central spot. Apparently this central spot once stood for the head of a bird : see plate AR 23 of Svoronos.

¹ Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, 1825 : " The custom of wassailing is still continued. A party of men assemble in the evening, and having obtained a cheese-bowl, decorate it with two intersecting hoops, covered with ribands, etc." In Train's *History of the Isle of Man*, we are told that in 1842 no less than four sets of boys engaged in hunting the wren were observed in the town of Douglas, *each party blowing a horn*.

was eaten sacramentally as the representative of the tree-spirit. In Manxland the wren is buried, but the song which is sung over it is in evidence for another kind of sepulchre. This song is given as follows in Train's *History of the Isle of Man* (vol. ii., p. 141, 1845):—

THE HUNTING OF THE WREN.

We'll away to the woods, says Robin the Bobbin :
 We'll away to the woods, says Richard the Robbin.
 We'll away to the woods, says Jackey the Land :
 We'll away to the woods, says every one.
 What will we do there ? says Robin the Bobbin,
 Repeat as before.

We'll hunt the wren, says, etc.
 Where is he, where is he ? says, etc.
 In yonder green bush, says, etc.
 How can we get him down, says, etc.
 With sticks and with stones, says, etc.
 He's down, he's down, says, etc.
 How can we get him home ? says, etc.
 We'll hire a cart, says, etc.
 Whose cart shall we hire ? says, etc.
 Johnny Bil Fel's says, etc.
 How can we get him in, says, etc.
 With iron bars, says, etc.
 He's at home, he's at home, says, etc.
How will we get him boiled ? says, etc.
 In the brewery pan, says, etc.
How will we get him eaten ? says, etc.
 With knives and with forks, says, etc.
 Who's to dine at the feast ? says, etc.
 The king and the queen, says, etc.
 The pluck for the poor, says, etc.
 The legs for the lame, says, etc.
 The bones for the dogs, says, etc.
He's eaten, he's eaten, says, etc.

The music of the wren-song is given in Barrow's *Mona Melodies*, 1820.

For our present purpose, the important point is the survival in the song of the tradition that the wren should be eaten as well as killed. It is as well to record the existence of a musical element in the ceremony, over and above the noise of the cow-horn.

CHAPTER III.

PERSONIFICATION OF THE APPLE-TREE (*Continued*).

WE may perhaps infer from the occurrence of the two different ways of disposing of the bird, which are suggested by Manx Folk-lore, that the burying of the wren has replaced the eating of the wren. Folk-songs appear to be in evidence for both forms of the cult.

For, example, there is a song, which is still sung by children in the East End of London, which tells of an old woman who killed a robin, and then planted an apple-tree over its grave. This may very well be another way of saying that the robin as apple-bird was buried at the roots of the apple-tree.¹

¹ The song, as far as I can gather, is to the following effect :—

Old Robin is dead and gone to his grave,
Hum! Ha! gone to his grave,
They planted an apple-tree over his head,
Hum! Ha! over his head.

The apples were ripe and ready to drop,
Hum! Ha! ready to drop.
There came an old woman a-picking them up,
Hum! Ha! picking them up.

Old Robin got up and gave her a knock,
Hum! Ha! gave her a knock,
Which made the old woman go hipperty-hop,
Hum! Ha! hipperty-hop.

It will interest the people of the North Country to know that the Robin who is buried and comes to life again in the folk-songs of the East End of London, is represented on the coat of arms of the City and the University of Glasgow. Look, for example, at the University shield, which is supposed to represent the miraculous deeds and virtues of St. Kentigern *alias* St. Mungo the early British saint. We have no space to show that St. Mungo is one of the great and glorious company of Twin Saints, but a glance at the shield will show the thunder-bird, as robin, perched on the top of the thunder-tree (in

We ought not to ignore another feature which is suggested by the Manx song, *viz.*: the presence of the King and the Queen, who are to eat the bird. This is evidence not merely for the eating of the apple-bird, but also for the participation in the ceremony of a Twelfth-Night King and Queen, whose ceremonial union is an added charm for fertility. Some such charm was almost inevitable, if sympathetic magic is to have its proper place in the ceremony. In the Isle of Man there is evidence enough that Twelfth Night Eve is a time of general license, which may easily have been religious in the first instance, and perhaps confined to a single pair, who, like Zeus and Europa, represented the union of the sky-god and the tree-spirit. Here is an account from Waldron's *Isle of Man* (A.D. 1731 : Manx. Soc. reprint, 1865, p. 49) :—

"Christmas is ushered in with a form much less meaning and infinitely more fatiguing (than the May-day festival). On 24 December, towards evening, all the servants in general have a holiday, they go not to bed all night, but ramble about till the bells ring in all the Churches, which is at 12 o'clock : prayers being over, they go to hunt the wren, and having found one of these poor birds they kill her, and lay her on a bier with the utmost solemnity, bringing her to the Parish Church, and burying her with a whimsical kind of solemnity, singing dirges over her in the Manx language, which they call her knell, after which Christmas begins. There is not a barn unoccupied the whole twelve days, every parish hiring fiddlers at the public charge ; and all the youth, nay, sometimes people well advanced in years, making no scruple to be among the nocturnal dancers. At this time, there never fails some work being made for Kirk Jarmyns (the St. German's prison) ; so many young fellows and girls meeting in these diversions, etc. etc."

As we have said, the license of the youth in the eighteenth century A.D., is not exactly parallel to that which prevailed in the eighteenth century B.C., when religion, as well as passion, prompted the expression

this case, the oak) ; and when we turn to the legends of St. Kentigern, we shall find that the robin had been killed, and miraculously raised to life again by the saint. In the *Aberdeen Breviary* it is described as *quaedam avicula quae rubesca* (sc. *rubecula*) *dicitur*. Thus the raising to life of the robin is a companion legend to the hunting of the wren. There is much more to be said on the folk-lore of the Glasgow seal and the University coat of arms.

of life in acts that might affect the prosperity of the whole of the ensuing year. It would be a mistake to think of primitive people as vastly more wicked than ourselves, and as belonging to a time when there "aren't no ten commandments": if there was no decalogue, there was a myriologue of taboos which preceded the ten. After all, the ten commandments are a mere abbreviation of supposed duties.

If we are right in regarding the Devonshire boy up the apple-tree as a fertility demon parallel to the Cretan Europa or Felcanos, the apple-boy being the key to the understanding of the Cretan oak-boy and oak-girl, we may now take a further step with the assistance of the Cretan coinage. We have examined the coins of Gortyna and of Phaestos, and have seen the way in which these cities have represented the tree-spirit, girl or boy as the case may be. There is another city in Crete not yet identified, which struck a similar series of coins, *the place of the tree-spirit being now occupied by Apollo himself*. The coin to which we draw attention is in the Hunter Collection at Glasgow, and is figured in Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. IX, Nos. 15 and 16. The following is the description in G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow, 1901, ii., 200, Pl. XLIII, 7.



PLATE V

Uncertain (Town) of Crete.
Silver. Fourth Century B.C.
Æginetic standard
Stater.

Obverse.

Male figure, naked to waist, seated r. amid branches of a tree; he supports himself with r., while he holds large wreath in extended l.

Reverse

Apollo, seated r. head facing, amid the branches of a laurel; he holds lyre in l., and plectron in r.

If we assume that the tree on the obverse is identified with the tree on the reverse, and that the god in the tree is the same on both sides,

then we have to call the god Apollo, and the tree a bay-tree. Analogy with the coins of Gortyna and Phaestos suggests that he is in the tree as a part of a cult for fertility. The difficult point is to determine what possible object there could be in fertilising a bay-tree. Has the bay-tree displaced some earlier form? There is much to favour this belief: we have shown in the Lecture on Apollo in the book called *The Ascent of Olympus*, that at Delphi, where Apollo has his own way with regard to trees and the like, the laurel was not primitive, for, as Ovid pointed out in describing the fight of Apollo with the python,

nondum laurus erat :

and Apollo found his victor's wreath in a neighbouring oak. This should be the very wreath which he is holding on one side of the coin.

We are now very near to finding Apollo as an oak-boy, of the type of Zeus Felcanos. The next step from the oak to the apple-tree, is a missing link in numismatic identification. We can find coins representing the god holding the apple, and we can find the sacred apple-tree at Delphi, but the evidence lacks completeness, and we must leave the case in the following form: Apollo in Crete in the fourth century B.C., was a tree-boy, the tree being a bay-tree, with a possible earlier form, not yet identified.¹ Now let us leave a blank at this point for further evidence, if such should be forthcoming, and let us return to the Isle of Man.

The next thing we come across in the Manx ceremony is a combination of music and mantic, in the person of the fiddler who directs the dance. He proceeds to tell the fortune of the coming year to the young men and maidens assembled. This is described as follows by Waldron:—

“On Twelfth Day the fiddler lays his head in some one of the wenches' laps, and a third person asks who such a maid, or such a maid, shall marry, naming the girls there present one after another; to which he answers according to his own whim, or agreeable to the intimacies he has taken note of during the time of merriment. But *whatever he says is as absolutely depended on as an oracle*; and if he happens to couple two people who have an aversion to each other, tears and vexation succeed the mirth. This they call *cutting off*

¹ There is some evidence that at Olympia also the primitive prize was an apple.

the fiddler's head, for after this, he is dead for the whole year. This custom still continues in every parish."

The foregoing account is very striking, it is almost unbelievable that the ill-assorted unions suggested by the fiddler should have oracular force. What force they possess has certainly come down out of the past, and the fiddler must have religious sanction and be a religious figure. The oracle appears as the *Luck of the Year*; it is congruous with the charms that determine fertility for the fruit-tree. The fiddler is a primitive Apollo, with a fiddle in place of a lyre, not a wide variation in music; and the suggestion arises that Apollo was originally oracular at a particular time of the year, and that at other times he was quiescent. The girl in whose lap the fiddler lays his head is the prototype of the Pythian priestess who gives the responses for the god.

Those who have read the study of Apollo in the *Ascent of Olympus* will recall the place which the apple takes in Greek Folklore; in this connection, the story of Hermochares and Ktesulla which is there quoted, is very edifying. The apple which Hermochares throws to the dancing maiden has an oracle inscribed on it to the effect that "Ktesulla will marry an Athenian named Hermochares". This is just the sort of thing which the Manx fiddler would have said upon occasion. It is a reply to the question, "Whom will Ktesulla marry?" Alas that such an interesting custom should have disappeared!

Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine.

We have to get our answers in another way. The girls give the responses themselves: they have oracular force,

For if she will, she will, you may depend on't,
And if she won't, she won't, and there's the end on't.¹

Traces of the same practice of divination may be noted at the Lenten fires in the district of the Ardennes, and elsewhere. Frazer has described these fires, kindled on the first Sunday in Lent, in *Balder the Beautiful* (i., 109). Here is a striking passage:—

¹ The oracular element survives in the old-fashioned game of "forfeits" at Christmas time, when a person is blindfolded, or hides his head in some one's lap, as a preliminary to guessing the answers of certain questions. One type is, "Here is a thing, a very pretty thing, and who is the owner of this pretty thing?" The punishments for wrong answers have often an oracular ambiguity about them, such as "Bite an inch off the poker".

“ At Épinal in the Vosges, on the first Sunday in Lent, bonfires used to be kindled at various places both in the town and on the banks of the Moselle. They consisted of pyramids of sticks and faggots, which had been collected some days earlier by many folks going from door to door. When the flames blazed up, the names of various couples, whether young or old, handsome or ugly, rich or poor, were called out, and the persons thus linked in mock marriage *were forced, whether they liked it or not*, to march arm in arm round the fire amid the laughter and jests of the crowd. The festivity lasted till the fire died out, and then the spectators dispersed through the streets, stopping under the windows of the houses and proclaiming the names of the *féchenots* and *féchenottes* or valentines whom the popular voice had assigned to each other. These couples had to exchange presents : the mock bridegroom gave his mock bride something for her toilet, while she in turn presented him with a cockade of coloured ribbon.”

The foregoing account is parallel in many ways to the Twelfth Night divination in the Isle of Man, but the ceremonies are not so serious, and the oracular force is much diminished. The same thing is true of the Hallowe'en divinations, of which we have the following statement in Frazer :—¹

“ In the Highlands of Scotland, as the evening of Hallowe'en wore on, young people gathered in one of the houses and resorted to an almost endless variety of games, or rather, *forms of divination*, for the purpose of ascertaining the future fate of each member of the company. Were they to marry or to remain single, was the marriage to take place this year or never, who was to be married first, what sort of husband or wife he or she was to get, the name, the trade, the colour of the hair, the amount of property of the future spouse—these were questions that were eagerly canvassed and the answers to them furnished never failing entertainment.”

Here also there seems to be a lack of seriousness which can hardly be primitive.

¹ *Op. cit.*, i., 234.

CHAPTER IV.

GANYMEDES AND HEBE.

WE have shown that the Devonshire custom of placing a boy in the branches of an apple-tree as a representative of the tree, and as a substitute for a previous bird-representative, is strictly parallel to the development of the oak-cults and thunder-cults, which we were able to trace in Crete and elsewhere. We are now going to show that our investigation is capable of throwing some further light on the problems of Greek mythology.

Returning for the moment to the Torquay custom, we see that the apple-sacrament by which the rustics share with the tree the life of the tree, has developed a human representative, who stands for the tree on the one hand, and for the agriculturist on the other, who is operating with sympathetic magic on the tree. This representative acts as an intermediary, and makes the communion of the tree-spirit and the people into a visible act ; he eats and drinks the products of the tree with the people on the one hand, and with the tree on the other. The cup of cider which is handed to him is a communion cup and a libation vessel. He will give what he gets, in part at least, to the tree.

Since the boy is, admittedly, a bird one degree removed, it is evident that if the bird were to be in the tree at the same time as the boy, then the bird would itself have to be fed in order to make the circle of communion complete.

When we turn from the apple-tree to the oak-tree, we naturally ask what has become of the meal in which the participation of the worshipper and his cult object is accomplished. Does the oak-tree also eat and drink, or does any bird or boy eat and drink with it ?

This brings to our mind one of the perplexing features of the Greek mythology, of which no satisfactory explanation has ever been offered : the presence of a pair of cup-bearers, male and female, among the Olympian gods, named respectively Ganymedes and Hebe. They



PLATE VII.—FROM CARL ROBERT: "DIE ANTKEN SARKOPHAG-RELIEFS," VOL. II., PLATE 2, FIG. 4

are evidently closely related, for Hebe has sometimes the title of Ganymeda, and she stands in relation to Hera, much in the same light as Ganymedes to Zeus. Each of them is a cup-bearer of the gods.

Now in Greek art, it is easy to see that Ganymedes has been cup-bearer to the eagle that carried him off, before he has himself become an adjunct of Olympus. We constantly find him represented as presenting the bowl of nectar to the eagle; certainly the eagle stands for Zeus in this connection, but it is Zeus in disguise, and away from Olympus.¹ Ganymedes is really giving drink to the thunder-bird, who precedes the thunder-man, and the thunder-bird is the oak-bird.



PLATE VI

We can see this expressed in many ways by the Greek artists, who will place an oak-tree in the field of view, near to Ganymedes, or in a position where he can lean up against it. Sometimes the oak is further specified by the depicting of acorns upon it, and sometimes *Ganymedes is actually giving the eagle to drink out of an acorn-cup*. We see, then, clearly that Ganymedes is the oak-tree boy; he represents the spirit of the tree, whom he propitiates through the bird by the food and drink which he has with him, exactly as the Devonshire apple-boy does. This was the way in which he became cup-bearer to Zeus; he was cup-bearer to the thunder-tree and to the thunder-bird; to the oak-tree and to the oak-bird.² Thus he is something like Dionysos in being a visible Zeus, a palpable, though diminished, King of the Wood; and it is as such a little Zeus, that upon one of the earliest Greek vases, we find him crowned by Hera, Zeus looking on, and Hebe, his female counterpart, standing behind

¹ The gem which is here represented will be found in Furtwängler, Pl. LXV, 52.

² The accompanying plate (Robert. vol. ii., Pl. II, Fig. 4) shows the eagle twice over, and the oak-tree also in duplicate; the acorn-cup should also be noted.

Hera : the cock, as thunder-bird, is in the picture instead of the eagle, just as he appears on the Felcanos coins of Phaestos.¹ The only direction in which there is a want of parallel, is that Ganymedes does not actually sit in the branches of a tree, as do Europa and Zeus Felcanos. This is not a very important omission in view of the fact that the tree is so often in the representation. We take it, then, that Ganymedes and the eagle are practising an annual charm for fertilisation of the oak-tree, and that what is represented on the coins and gems which we have been describing is a religious ceremony : we have given back Greek art to Greek religion, and restored Ganymedes to respectability.

This is not all that we learn from our apple-cult in its Devonshire and other related forms. It will be remembered that we found out that food and drink were given to the tree, or to the representatives of the tree, from the products of the tree itself. The tree is medicined from the food and drink which its own nature supplies, apples and cider being the food and drink in question. When we come to the case of the oak-tree, we see that the eagle is actually being supplied with drink, but what is the drink in question ? Evidently it is the same drink that is supplied to the Olympians, the nectar of the gods, which answers very closely to the Soma that is offered to the Vedic deities. How can this drink be in any way connected with the oak-tree, or indeed any drink, for we can hardly suppose that a brew was made of acorns. There are only two directions in which I see any possibility of solving the riddle. The drink must be made out of the sacred honey, which leads at once to the identification of nectar with some form of intoxicating mead (*cf.* μέθυ and μεθύω) ; or else it is a drink prepared from the ivy, ivy being considered as a part of the oak-tree, and related to it as Dionysos to Zeus.

It is not impossible that the two points of view may have been combined, just as in the ivy-ale at Ascension-tide in Lincoln College, Oxford. The nectar can hardly have been fermented ivy-juice, pure

¹ Hackl says of the Munich vase that Hera (?) holds a crown over the head of Ganymedes. If that be correct it is perhaps a crown of oak-leaves, and Ganymedes is the King of the Wood. Mr. A. B. Cook objects that "a black-figured vase of this early date would certainly represent a wreath as a black circle". He thinks that Hera is holding a plate of apples or more probably pomegranates over Ganymedes' head.



PLATE VIII.—FROM SIEVEKING AND HACKL; "DIE KOENIGLICHE VASENSAMMLUNG ZU MÜNCHEN," PAGE 95, FIG. 94



and simple ; yet it can hardly have been without the presence of ivy : for Hebe who administers it, appears to have worn an ivy-crown at her cult centres, and at Phlios in particular, which is her chief place of worship, there was an annual ceremony of ivy-cutting, which must surely be related to the Cult of Hebe herself.

Thus the suggestion arises that in the composition of the original Soma-drink, which makes and maintains the immortality of the Aryan gods, ivy had a prominent place. Its combination with honey-mead will explain all the references which have hitherto been brought forward to prove that Soma was a honey-drink. We know from the Vedas that it was, primarily, the juice of a plant. The plant was the ivy.

From the description in the Vedas, it is easy to infer that Soma was a plant, a mountain plant, with long tendrils ; that it grew on the rocks and apparently also on trees ; that it was crushed between stones, strained through a wool-strainer, was yellow in colour (which may refer either to the juice or to the berries of the plant, and would answer very well to some kinds of ivy), and that it became an intoxicant and was as such personified and took its place by Indra in the Vedic pantheon.

For the supposition that the Soma-drink was composite in character, we may refer to Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, who remarks that Soma was mixed with mead : that the term "*madhu* . . . is especially applied to the Soma-juice" (p. 105) : that " the juice is *honied* (*madhumat*). The latter expression seems to have meant 'sweetened with honey,' some passages pointing to the admixture." He sums up the Soma question as follows : " The belief in an intoxicating divine beverage, the home of which was heaven, may be Indo-European. If so, it must have been regarded as a kind of honey-mead, brought down to earth from its guardian demon by an eagle, the Soma-bringing eagle of Indra agreeing with the nectar-bringing eagle of Zeus, and with the eagle which as a metamorphosis of Odhin carried off the mead. This Madhu, or honey-mead, if Indo-European, was replaced in the Indo-Iranian period by Soma ; but may have survived into the Vedic period by *amalgamating with Soma*" (p. 114).

"Amalgamation with Soma" is another way of saying that the juice of the Soma plant was sweetened with honey, in some fermented form.

The equation between Soma and nectar appears to be established ; the philological interpretations are more obscure. The latest explanation

of *nectar* explains it in terms of the immortality which it confers, as a "death-destroyer, from the two roots *nek* (as in *vékus*, *νεκρός*, Lat. *necem*), and a stem which underlies the Greek *τείρω* 'to rub,' 'to wear out' ".¹

It stands, therefore, not for the products out of which it is made (honey, ivy, or both), but for the intoxicating quality which it possesses. For the Devonshire wassailers I suppose that cider would be a just equivalent of Soma.

Another title of Soma is "amṛta," which conveys exactly the sense and very nearly the form of the Greek *ἄμβροτος*. Philologically, then, we are entitled to equate Soma with nectar.

¹ See Boisacq, *Dict. Étym. de la langue Grecque* (Paris, 1913), following closely on the track of Prellwitz, *Etym. Wört. d. Griech. Sprache* (Göttingen, 1915), equates the meaning of "nectar" with that of "Ambrosia".

CHAPTER V.

THE NAME OF THE APPLE-GOD.

WE have shown that there was a tendency towards personification in the ritual of the apple-orchard ; it was, indeed, difficult to resist such a tendency when one had to ask questions of a tree as to its future conduct, or when one had to share with a tree its life-blood, and apply that life-blood to the life of the tree itself. We pointed out that in the case of the apple-tree, the personification was in the first place through a bird (male or female) that was a denizen of the tree, and, in the next case, through a boy or girl substituted for the bird, or thought of in connection with it. Amongst such tree-boys and tree-girls for representatives of oak, apple, and laurel we were able to recognise by name

Europa, or, according to some,
Britomartis.
Ganymedes and Hebe, and
Apollo.

The first three were oak-boys and oak-girls ; the last appeared as a laurel-boy or bay-boy, with a probability that an oak-boy or apple-boy was behind the form which we discovered. The Cretan evidence was admitted to be incomplete, but it was important as far as it went. It certainly disclosed Apollo as a tree-boy, in a form not unlike the Devonshire apple-boy. Returning now to the north of Europe, we take up the inquiry as to the meaning of the Balder legend. The story of Balder the Beautiful and of his tragic death by an arrow of mistletoe is well known. He was the darling of the northern gods, and of the goddess Frigg in particular. She, Frigg, " took an oath from fire and water, iron and all metals, stones and earth, and from trees, sicknesses, and from poisons, and from all four-footed beasts, birds, and creeping things, that they would not hurt Balder. When this was done, Balder was deemed invulnerable : so the gods amused

themselves by setting him in their midst, while some shot at him, others hewed at him, and others threw stones at him."¹

But Frigg had forgotten to include the mistletoe among the possible enemies of Balder : so had not the malicious Loki, who fashioned an arrow out of mistletoe, and showed the blind god Holdr how to aim it at Balder. So Balder died by the mistletoe, and there was much wailing of gods and goddesses on his account.

Upon the whole story Frazer remarks that "whatever may be thought of an historical kernel underlying a mythical husk in the legend of Balder, the details of the story suggest that it belongs to a class of myths which have been dramatised in ritual, or to put it otherwise, which have been performed as magical ceremonies for the sake of producing those natural effects which they describe in figurative language".²

Frazer thinks that Balder is the personification of a mistletoe-bearing oak, and that he was burned at midsummer, perhaps in the form of an actual sacrifice.

We suggest that the mistletoe-bearing oak be changed to a mistletoe-bearing apple-tree, and that midwinter be substituted for midsummer as the time of the sacrifice of the tree-boy. The curse of Frigg will then be a description of the spells which are said over the apple-tree in some such form as the following :—

No fire touch thee :
 No water drown thee :
 No iron come near thee :
 No blight affect thee :
 No beast beset thee :
 Good apple-tree.

The gods will then represent the rustics attacking the tree with sticks and stones which are not meant to hurt it, and attacking the apple-bird or apple-boy with sticks and stones that are meant to hurt, so that the life of the personified tree may be given for the annual reinforcement of the tree itself.

Another reason why we say that Balder is the Northern Apollo and the personified apple-tree is that his name invited the supposition. We have shown (in the Rylands Library Lecture on "Apollo") that the word "apple," in its primitive form "abál," had the accent on the

¹ Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i., 101.

² *Ibid.*, i., 105.

second syllable ; when suffixes were attached to the word, the forward accent released the initial vowel, and left the syllable "bal".

Now the name for "apple-tree" is found in early charters as a place-name in the form "Appledore," "Apuldre," closely related to which are the forms *Apfalter*, *Affalter*, *Affolter*, in the Middle High Dutch. Upon these names I remarked as follows in the Rylands Lecture on the "Cult of Artemis":—¹

"It has occurred to me that perhaps the 'apel-dur,' 'apel-dre,' and 'appeldore,' which we have been considering may be the origin of Balder (and of Paltar of Grimm's hypothesis), in view of the occurrence of the corresponding forms mentioned above in the Middle High Dutch. If, for instance, the original accent in *apple* (abāl) is, as stated above, on the second syllable, then it would be easy for a primitive *apāl-dur* to lose its initial vowel, and in that case we should not be very far from the form *Balder*, which would mean the apple-tree originally and nothing more."

According to these suggestions Balder is the apple-boy, because Balder is apple-tree. It is interesting to see whether the beautiful Northern god has left his mark on the place-names or personal names in this country. For instance, there is a personal name Baldrewood (an English novelist) and another Balderston, but these are clearly place-names used to denote persons. Balderwood, for instance, occurs in the New Forest. On the other hand, Balderson appears to be a real personal name, corresponding to the Greek Apollonides. In Yorkshire we have Baldersby as a place-name, certainly Scandinavian, and in Lancashire, Balderstone. The Greek parallel would be Apollonia. In Cheshire and Notts we have Balderton. There is another near Wrexham in North Wales. I do not know any Balders or Bolders in the Midlands.

It is possible that the arrow-struck apple-tree spirit has been perpetuated in the Christian St. Sebastian, whose festival is a fortnight later than Twelfth Day (Epiphany), and whose death is due, (i) to a shower of arrows, (ii) to beating with clubs.

But this requires closer examination. Was not the tomb of Sebastian found in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus?

It will be asked whether, if we are correct in interpreting Balder as the apple-tree, and the oath taken by Frigg as the spells for the good

¹ P. 64.

luck of the apple-tree, and the beating of Balder with sticks and stones as a part of the rustic ritual, we ought to omit the pathetic part of the Balder story, where his wife Nanna insists on accompanying him to the lower world. According to the Edda, when Balder's body was placed upon the funeral pile upon his ship, his wife Nanna saw it, died of grief, and was laid on the same funeral pile as her husband.

It is not an unnatural question as to whether Nanna is merely a lay-figure in the mythology, or whether she also has to be interpreted. The only directions in which an interpretation seems possible are (1) that the sacrifice of Balder the tree-boy has been accompanied not only by a mystical marriage with the view of fertility, but by a sacrifice of the tree-girl as well as the tree-boy ; (2) that a pair of trees might have been associated together, and thought of as married, in which case the rites for fertilising the first would naturally apply to the second. The two points of view suggested are not necessarily exclusive.

The marriage of trees is still practised in India : let us see what is said on this curious custom.

"The *aswatta* (or *pipal*) tree is consecrated to Vishnu, or rather it is *Vishnu himself under the form of a tree*. . . . Sometimes it is solemnly married. Generally a *vepu* or *margosa* tree is selected for its spouse, and occasionally a plantain or banana tree. Almost the same formalities are observed for this curious marriage as in the case of a marriage between Brahmins. Here and there on the high roads and elsewhere the *aswatta* and *vepu* trees may be seen planted side by side on little mounds. This union is not an accidental one, but the result of an actual marriage ceremony. Not thirty yards from the modest hut where these pages were written were two of these trees, under whose shade I have often reclined. Their trunks were so closely entwined that they had become incorporated one with another. The inhabitants of the village could remember to have seen them planted together some fifty years before, and said that they had been present at the wedding festivities, which lasted several days, and were celebrated at the expense of a wealthy person of the neighbourhood at a cost of more than 1500 rupees."¹

There is, then, nothing impossible in the idea of an actual tree-marriage. The explanation of this quaint belief may lie in various

¹ Dubois and Beauchamp, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* (3rd ed., p. 653).

directions ; it would be quite natural in the case of a pair of trees of the same species, one of which was male and the other female (as the wild fig-tree and the fruit-bearing fig-tree) : but how are we to explain the union where the trees are diverse ? The suggestion arises that it may be due to the use of a pair of fire-sticks, male and female, which might be made from the same tree, or, as was often the case, from two different trees, a hard-wood male tree and a relatively softer female tree. In some such way, then, the idea of the tree-marriage might have been arrived at. The Hindu practice certainly assists the imagination in finding a place for Nanna the Faithful by the side of Balder the Beautiful. It also helps us, by its identification of the *aswatta* tree with Vishnu, to understand better the personifications of the tree-spirit which we have come across in Western folk-lore and mythology.

APPENDIX.

SINCE writing the preceding essay I have received the following interesting communication from a South Devonian who has actually "wassailed" the apple-trees—Mr. P. G. Bond, of Plymouth (a member of the *Plymouth Institution*),—who also reminds me of the prevalence in his youthful days of the custom of cutting the "neck" of the harvest ; of this corn-ritual there is much more surviving evidence than for the "wassailing" of the apples. His reminiscence may very well be added to the general folk-lore tradition.

WASSAILING THE APPLE-TREE.

BY P. G. BOND, M.R.C.V.S., PLYMOUTH.

What was no doubt the last flickering remains of this local custom confined to the cider district of the South Hams, in the County of Devon, came under my notice in or about the year 1860, fifty-eight years ago.

I may be said to have taken part in it, although I did not know anything about the custom, its origin, its significance, or its mode of procedure. At the time I was eight years old. The scene was either at an old farm called Henacres Farm, an off-farm of Rack Park Farm in the occupation of my aunt, near Washbrook Mill in the parish of Dodbrooke, or at the mill. I had as schoolfellow a son of the miller, Stephen Cole.

I very frequently spent the Saturday at the mill with him and his family, returning home about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

The mill apple orchard adjoined the mill ; it was entered by a gate from the main road, and also by a gate from the mill yard. The best apple-tree stood about 12 to 15 feet in from the roadway gate. Another apple orchard was in connection with Henacres Farm, and the best and most prolific tree on it was one bearing the apple called the "Royal Red Streak".

On this occasion it was Christmas Eve not Twelfth Eve, of that I am not in doubt. On Christmas Eve there would be usually a good many callers, customers of the miller, and friends of the house ; they called to give the compliments of the season and receive them. The drink offered was warmed cider in which were placed baked apples. The cake offered was a good currant cake, there was no deficiency of fruit. The health of the household was drunk, and the health of the apple-trees.

Words said to have been used :—

“Here’s a health to the good apple-tree, may we all have cap fulls, pocket fulls, sack fulls,” or words to that effect.

I do not remember them myself ; the cider cup was passed around to all and sundry with the cake. I do not remember any gun being fired off at the tree ; this was a Somersetshire custom, not usually done in Devon. The wassailing died out and did not maintain its hold as did the “crying of the neck”.

In a note I made some years ago, I find as follows :—

“I heard the Knack cried in 1865 at Dudbrooke Hills on Cranch’s ground, part of Aunt Bond’s farm, it was cried by a man called William Hodge who repeated the following words :—

“‘We’ve ploughed and we’ve sowed, we’ve reaped and we’ve mowed. Neck.’” This was said three times, and those looking on walked slowly round a sheaf of corn. The knack was called over the last sheaf of wheat cut on the farm for that harvest.

William Hodge was foreman and horsekeeper at Rack Park Farm, the Home Farm, and at Dodbrooke Henacres Farm.

Cranch’s ground where the “neck” was cried was an off-part of the farm. Hodge was the arch priest of the folk-lore.

In looking back so long to pick up the memory of the past, I begin to think I heard more of this old custom and wassailing than I saw of it. I have not any note in connection with it, so I am uncertain. I have heard of it, though, from many a source. My father was born in 1806, my grandfather in 1774, my great-grandfather in 1754, my great-great-grandfather in 1730, my great-great-great-grandfather in 1697, all on farms ; all were farmers, and the account of the old custom has been passed on. I have not heard of it during the past fifty-five years.

I regret very much the passing away of the old folk-lore and

legends of the past. On a winter's evening to sit around the old hearth-fire eating apples and drinking warm cider in the fitful light of the burning wood, and where the conversation became general, dullness did not take hold of the company, and tradition was passed on as in the old Icelandic Sagas.

How can we resuscitate English country life with all its old charms fast disappearing ?

Mr. Bond also draws my attention to the following passage in Hawkins' *History of Kingsbridge*, 1819, and shows that it is probably from Hawkins that Lysons obtained the tradition which we have quoted.

Hawkins, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71, 72 :—

"A custom of great antiquity prevails in these districts for the ciderist, on Twelfth Eve, attended by his workmen with a large can or pitcher of cider, guns charged with powder, etc., etc., to repair to the orchard, and there at the foot of one of the best bearing apple-trees drink the following toast three times repeated, discharging the firearms in conclusion :—

Here's to thee,
Old apple-tree,
Whence thou mayst bud,
And whence thou mayst blow,
And whence thou mayst bear
Apples enow,
Hats full !
Caps full !
Bushel bushel sacks full !
And my pockets full, too !
Huzza !

"The pitcher being emptied, they return to the house, the doors of which they are certain to find bolted by the females, who, be the weather what it may, are inexorable to all entreaties to open them till some one has divined what is on the spit which is generally a rarity not thought of, and, if edible, is the reward of him who first names it. The party are then admitted, and the lucky wight who guessed at the roast is recompensed with it."

NORSE MYTH IN ENGLISH POETRY.*

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I.

Tale teller, who twixt fire and snow
Had heart to turn about and show
With faint half smile things great and small
That in thy fearful land did fall,
Thou and thy brethren sure did gain
That thing for which I long in vain,
The spell, whereby the mist of fear
Was melted, and your ears might hear
Earth's voices as they are indeed.

W. MORRIS, Prefixed to his Translation of the *Eyrbyggja Saga*.

SO wrote William Morris, in the preface to his English version of one of the finest sagas of the "fearful land". And his words may serve as a clue to guide us to the heart of our present theme. For no other English poet has felt so keenly the power of Norse myth; none has done so much to restore its terrible beauty, its heroism, its earth-shaking humour, and its heights of tragic passion and pathos, to a place in our memories, and a home in our hearts.

I say to *restore*; for it will not be in truth a new gift, but in some sort the recovery of a vanished and forgotten possession. The mythic stories which we call Norse were in great part a common heritage of the Germanic peoples; and the tale of the Volsungs, which Morris told the other day, had been sung twelve or thirteen hundred years before in the old English epic of *Beowulf*.¹ But between the day

* Based upon a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 13 March, 1918.

when these tales were last chanted at English feasts, perhaps on the eve of the Conquest, and that on which they were first deciphered again by English antiquaries, lie fully six centuries during most of which they were utterly unknown. We are like kindred parted in infancy to meet again, as perfect strangers, in advanced age. The whole Scandinavian world passed, during those centuries, for almost all literary and even cultural purposes, beyond our ken. Our faces were turned the other way, to France, to Italy ; and the vast arc of northern lands sweeping from Denmark to Iceland, beyond the broad spaces of estranging sea, lay in every sense beyond our horizon. No one dreamed that a poetry and a prose, unsurpassed in their kind in Europe, had grown up in the lonely fastness of the great Atlantic island. A single northern legend did, indeed, towards the end of the period, find its way into our literature, and with such effect that Denmark and Elsinore became points of dazzling brilliance and import in the permanent culture of the world.² But the triumphant intrusion of the Hamlet story stands absolutely alone ; and even this solitary though glorious waif of Scandinavia came to us with its Scandinavian character overlaid, if not obliterated, by alien romance elements which certainly helped to commend it to European taste. It is a far cry from the Norse sea-giant Amloth to the mediæval emulator of Livy's Brutus who spoke to the Elizabethans through the ambitious Latinity of Saxo, or the polished French of Belleforest.

But before the beginning of these centuries of complete literary and cultural estrangement, there was at least a lively intercourse between the Northern and the English stems. Some of it was disastrously intimate. The Vikings who swept away the lettered and devout culture of Northumbria in the ninth century were not persuasive heralds of the richer and stronger but still unshaped cosmos of the poetry of the North. But from the time of Alfred onwards, with the permanent settlement of a large tract of England by Scandinavians, more humane relations diversify their encounters. The Old English found that the Norsemen could make a song as well as fight, and that those formidable galleys of theirs were sometimes launched, like the bark of the aged Ulysses, for voyages of exploration not of plunder. We have made analogous discoveries in our own time ; and it is easier to parallel the Norwegian enthusiasms of the later nineteenth century in the tenth than at any intervening date. Just a thousand years before Nansen

came as Norway's ambassador to the English court, another Norwegian explorer, Ohthere, visited Alfred, and kindled the king's quick imagination with the story of his voyage round the North Cape into the Murman region of the White Sea.³ And one of the most romantic of Viking adventurers, Egil Skallagrimsson, equally renowned as warrior and as singer, became the trusted henchman and warm friend of Athelstane. After doing him yeoman's service in field and counsel, and receiving royal rewards, Egil improvised a Norse panegyric (*drápa*) in his praise at the palace board.⁴ Athelstane gave him two gold rings as poet's fee, but there is no hint that any English *scof* who listened to the Icelander's staves thought of emulating in his own tongue their brief, weighty rhythm and bold imagery. A Norse song chanted to the English court—that is the nearest recorded approach to a literary contact between Scandinavia and England before the Conquest; and even contact so casual and seemingly fruitless as this, becomes more and more inconceivable after it. The new Northmen completed the estrangement of England from the old. The two Germanic civilizations, so profoundly akin despite their deadly encounter, drew definitely apart. England, after a century of tragic and impotent silence, awoke to find herself bound in the web of continental culture, and rudely or childishly emulating strains of its alien song. While Norway and her great island colony had been working out undisturbed the splendid promise of their chaotic and unbridled youth, and creating the great monument at once of their heroic traditions and of their national art, in the Eddas and the Sagas. Iceland has kept even her language almost unchanged to the present day.⁵

“Undisturbed”: that is at bottom the clue to this startling inequality of literary fortune. And it has to be borne in mind if we would appreciate the energy of the impact, when it came, of Norse story upon the imagination of civilized and Romanized Europe. Undisturbed, above all, until the very close of the first millennium after Christ, by the powerful solvent of the Christian faith.⁶ The fascinating theory of Bugge, that certain Norse myths are transformations of Christian legends, caught up by the Viking marauders in Christian lands, does not affect the truth of this contention. Christianity, even on that hypothesis, only enriched the pagan myth world without disintegrating it, or lessening its power of resistance. Scandinavia was the last retreat of paganism in the West of Europe, and behind its successive

barriers of sea and mountain and sea again, the faith of Thor and Odin and Walhalla held its ground against the onsurging tide of Christianity. The further we go north and west, the more freely its primeval traditions are unfolded and elaborated—its stories of gods and men, of the beginning of the world and its final doom, of the feats of heroes and their death in battle, crowned by an immortality of feasting in Odin's halls. In Sweden and Denmark paganism was soonest submerged, and has left the fewest and the faintest traces. Norway, in its deepset fiords, guarded a rich treasure of lays and sagas. But the real capital of old Norse literature, as of its republican statecraft, was the great island of fire and snow in the far wastes of the North Atlantic, which might seem destined to be its last and loneliest outpost.

Here, and in Norway, the Christian missionaries won their difficult triumph only after A.D. 1000. And even after the conversion, their sagacity or patriotism saved the myth literature from the fate which almost completely blotted it out elsewhere, and has reduced us in England to attest our primitive paganism by a few empty names—Wednesday and Thursday, Wednesbury and Thoresby, and the legend of Wayland the Smith, and the pre-Christian core of *Beowulf*.

The result was, in the first place, the great collection of lays known as the Older Edda, written partly in Norway in the ninth century, then in Iceland in the tenth and eleventh. They were collected in the thirteenth, and first critically edited at the end of the eighteenth. Secondly, a great mass of songs, still mystic in colouring but arising out of historic occasions. In its extant form the Edda consists of some thirty-five distinct pieces, falling into two nearly equal groups—stories of the gods, and stories of the heroes. A few cognate lays are presented in certain sagas. Three only of these stories have counted as creative or even stimulating forces for English poetry. These are (1) the story of Balder, the beloved son of Odin, treacherously slain by Loki (*Voluspá*, 32, f.); (2) the story of Odin's descent to the underworld to procure his reform (*Baldur's draumar*); (3) the great heroic story of the Volsungs,—of Sigurd the Achilles of the North, and Brynhild, its Medea or Lady Macbeth, and Gudrun and her vengeance for his death (*Grippisspá*, etc.). But several others have powerfully contributed to mould our impressions of the scope and reach of this northern poetry: notably, in the first group, (4) the Sibyl's prophecy (*Voluspá*), a sublime hymn of the beginning and the end of the world,

of which the story of Balder is only an incident ; (5) the story of Thor and the giant Skirnir, a huge piece of Aristophanic humour, man making sport of his gods (*Thrymskvitha*) ; and (6) the great Waking of Angentyr, where Hervor the warrior maid goes to her father's burial mound in the burning island to demand from him the sword which, he knows, will be ruin to her race (*Hervar saga*). Further, from the partly historical class, two must be mentioned : (7) the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok, a chieftain of the twelfth century, thrown into a pit of serpents (*Krakumál*), and (8) the song of the Norns after the battle of Clontarf (*Darratharljóth*).

From this introductory summary let us now turn to watch the fortunes of these primeval and rugged strangers from the North, with their mysterious and witching beauty, in enlightened and prosperous England, when the youngest of them was already almost half a millennium old.

II.

For the first report of them concurs with the famous Revolution which ushered in Dutch William and Whig government, John Locke and the philosophy of common sense.

Sir W. Temple, the chief agent in the negotiations with William, met Scandinavian scholars in Holland, and read in a northern chronicle in Latin the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok. Here was something, he thought, fine and heroic among these barbaric peoples ; and he made it a text of his Essay, "on Heroic Virtue," 1690 ; much as Sidney, a century before, had confessed how his heart stirred as with a trumpet at the rude lay of Chevy-chase.⁷

But erudition too, at Oxford in particular, had felt the sting of the new curiosities. The old Germanic world, overlaid and almost obliterated, was beginning to be tracked out and pieced together. Junius, the friend of Milton, was the first thoroughly to master Old English, and his fount of types, bequeathed to the Oxford press, were used to print the first Icelandic grammar, by George Hickes. But Hickes was also the first, in his great *Thesaurus of the Northern Languages*, 1689, to print and translate a Norse poem in English. And fortunately it was one of the grandest of all—the *Waking of Angentyr*.^{5a}

Hervor's Incantation, as it is also called, was widely admired, and in 1763 was included with *Ragnar Lodbrok* (No. 7) and three

others by Bishop Percy, the editor of the *Reliques*, in his *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*. But one better qualified than Percy had already been touching these things to finer issues. About 1760 Thomas Gray made his noble paraphrases, *The Descent of Odin* and *The Fatal Sisters*, the best result of Norse poetic influence which the whole eighteenth century can show. Gray knew something of Icelandic, and his verse comes as near as eighteenth century English could to the brief, pregnant style, the sharp "unmuffled" phrasing of the original. In this Norse poetry he found fulfilled an ideal of poetic writing which he had all his life been feeling after, and it enabled him to strike a new note in English poetry. In the "Spear Song," the original of Gray's *The Fatal Sisters*, we hear the Valkyries, the divine maidens of Odin who gather up the slain after battle, sing their weird Fate song before the battle of Clontarf, where a Norse chief is about to fight with an Irish king. The old image for the making of human fate, as a weaving of a woof, which the Norse notion of Fate shares with the Greek, is here applied with an intense abrupt imaginative power which recalls the Book of Job. "Weave we, weave we, the web of spears!" is the recurring refrain. And in one grim powerful stanza the symbolism of the loom of battle, where the fates of men are wrought, is thrust upon us with remorseless vividness and precision of stroke :—

This web we are weaving of human entrails,
And the warp is weighted with heads of men;
Blood-besprinkled spears be the shafts,
Iron-bound the stays, and arrows the shuttles;
With swords we'll thrust close this web of victory.

Such poetry sharply traversed the conventions of English eighteenth century style. Abstract phrase and "glossy" diction could not be further off. But Gray contrived to convey more of it into his English verse than his own antecedents would have seemed to warrant. It fulfilled, clearly, the half-unconscious bent of his own taste, the ideal of a sublime or mysterious matter conveyed with Greek precision. This is how he turns it :—

See the grisly texture grow !
('Tis of human entrails made)
And the weights that play below
Each a gasping Warrior's head !

Shafts for shuttles, dipt in gore,
Shoot the trembling cords along.
Sword that once a Monarch bore,
Keep the tissue close and strong.

Gray could not indeed wholly escape the poetic rhetoric of his day. "Sword that once a Monarch bore," or "Shoot the trembling cords along," are still in the vein of this rhetoric. But a phrase like "Shafts for shuttles" has a new ring, caught from the short emphatic alliterating poetry of the North. In such phrases, too, though Gray possibly did not know it, he was recovering the manner of the oldest poetry of his own country, for Old English and Old Norse verse and phrasing were built upon the same plan.⁸

The other piece rendered by Gray, the *Descent of Odin*, takes us yet further into the heart of Norse mythology. It has more of the tragic poignancy of Hervor than of the battle spirit of the spear song. Odin, the greatest of the northern gods, and the most moving and fascinating personality among them, has heard that his son, Balder, is doomed to be slain. He resolves to go down to the nether world and force the buried Sibyl to disclose the secret of his son's fate and what should follow. Here, as in Hervor, it is the father's anxiety for his child that makes the situation dramatic and intense, though it is conveyed, with the reticence of great art, solely through the action, the swift thrust and parry between the urgent god and the reluctant prophetess, without a hint of exclamation or sentiment. All kinds of obstacles beset him. As he rides down towards Niflheim, the hound of Hell, the Cerberus of the North, come out, its jaws dabbled in blood, and bays at the greatest of the gods. But Odin rides on, the earth trembling at his tread, to the eastern gate of Hell's mansion, where the dead Sibyl's mound lay. He utters the spells that wake the dead, until reluctant she rises, and her dead body speaks: "Who is it of mortals to me unknown, that has laid this grievous constraint on me? Snow lay on me, rain beat on me, dew was shed on me: I had long been dead." He tells her that he is one Way-wise, a wanderer (like Ulysses). He sees the preparations for a feast. "For whom," he asks, "are these golden seats prepared?" "Here for Balder," she answers, "the mead is ready. Unwillingly have I spoken: and now I will speak no more." "Speak on, O Sibyl! I will question thee till I know all: this further I would know: Who will become the

slayer of Balder, and take the life of Odin's son?" "Hoder," she answers, "will hold the tall bough of fate (the mistletoe branch which he shot at Balder) and take the life of Odin's son. Unwillingly have I spoken: now will I speak no more." "Speak on, O Sibyl! I will question thee till I know all: this further I would know: Who will avenge the death of Balder, and lay his slayer on the funeral pyre?" She replies that "a child is yet to be born who when one day old will avenge Odin's son; his hands he will wash not, nor comb his hair, till he bear to the pyre the slayer of Balder. Unwillingly have I spoken: now I will speak no more." She seems to have told him all, but the most wonderful touch remains. "Speak on, Sibyl! I will question thee till I know all: this further would I know: Who are the maidens who weep for him, casting up their snoods to heaven?" "Thou art not Way-wise, as I trowed," she burst out, "but thou art Odin, the ancient sire. . . . Ride home, Odin, and glory in thyself; for no man again shall hold discourse with me till Loki breaks loose from his bonds, what time the Destroyers come, at the End of the World."

Gray's version of this, as of the Spear-song, is a noble poem. Without surrendering anything of English poetic instinct, as a quite literal version must have done, he has yet, in contact with this new poetry, enlarged the bounds of English poetic expression. Take the lines in which the Sibyl, roused unwillingly from her death-sleep, meets the intruder:—

What call unknown, what charms presume
To break the quiet of the tomb?
Who thus afflicts my troubled sprite,
And drags me from the realms of night?
Long on these mould'ring bones have beat
The winter's snow, the summer heat,
The drenching dews, the driving rain!
Let me, let me sleep again.
Who is he, with voice unblest,
That calls me from the bed of rest?

But Gray's Norse studies told also upon his original poetry. Both his two famous Odes, *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*, written about 1755, betray the growing dominance in his mind of the poetry of the primeval peoples, which was now from many sources emerging above the horizon of his generation. That illustrates the

complexity of the literary forces which went to emancipate our poetry from the pseudo-classicism of the Augustans, and to shape the great poetic renaissance of the early nineteenth century. For these very Odes were in form the result of an effort to recover the bold imaginative speech and closely ordered structure of the Greek lyric Ode. Gray was, in spite of a certain constitutional timidity and reticence, a discoverer and a pioneer of the highest rank ; not merely because his instinct for new and rare sources of poetic effect was exquisitely delicate and sure, but because he understood perfectly how to attach the new to the old, so that it seemed to grow out of it. His contemporaries, it is true, complained that the Odes were obscure, and Johnson severely blamed his inversions, and other departures from prose order. Yet we can easily recognize that these were criticisms natural to a generation which had forgotten what the language of poetry is. But at the very moment when Gray was thus trying to bring the boldness and splendour, together with the ordered symmetry, of Greek art into English, he had begun to be aware of the treasures of poetry lurking among other ancient peoples, less familiar to us, but nearer both geographically, and in race : the Welsh and the Scandinavian. Hence, in the first Ode, his allusion to the power of poetry

In climes beyond the solar road
Where shaggy forms o'er ice-built mountains roam.

But in the second Ode, *The Bard*, there is far more unequivocal witness to the stimulus given by his Norse studies. It has worked creatively. The great Norse manner of song, in which a story, tragic and intense, is not told, but conveyed through the talk of the persons engaged, has helped to fashion this Ode, in which almost all is told by the impassioned prophetic lips of the Bard. But more than that, the very motive of a prophecy delivered has its analogues, as we have seen, both in *Hervor* and in *The Descent of Odin*, while the idea of *The Fatal Sisters* (the Valkyries) weaving the fates of battle, is expressly invoked in the grim refrain which runs through the Bard's prophecy :—

Weave the warp, and weave the woof.

It is here the slain Bards who are to rise from the dead and avenge their country, and the Bard sees them arise :—

No more I weep. They do not sleep.
 On yonder cliffs, a grisly band
 I see them sit, they linger yet,
 Avengers of their native land :
 With me in dreadful harmony they join,
 And weave with bloody hands the tissue of thy line,

—just the grim Norse notion of the “red woof” of slaughter woven by the terrible battle-maids, the daughters of Odin.

Gray’s “runic” poems appeared in 1768, and fairly started the Norse vogue. Solid help was provided, nearly at the same time, to the growing host of dilettante admirers and imitators, by the translation in 1770 of Mallet’s *Introduction to the History of Denmark*. Mr. Farley, of Harvard,⁹ has shown that a flood of forgotten translations and adaptations poured from the press during the next fifty years. It rang the changes on, especially, the lay of Hervor and Lodbrok ; less often on Odin, Thor, Balder, and The Twilight of the Gods. A great part of the Edda was translated, with solid merit, by the Hon. W. Herbert.¹⁰ The fashion ran to seed. The sublimity of Norse heroics was in danger of toppling over into the ridiculous, and those feasts in Valhalla once felt so thrilling, where drink was quaffed in the skulls of enemies, became a standing jest.¹¹ Several distinguished men of letters, it is true, found their good, incidentally, in Norse myth. Scott puts a song of Harald Harfager in the mouth of Halcro in *The Pirate*. Landor cast an episode from the *Gunnlangs Saga* into his marmoreal verse. W. L. Bowles, a Tory clergyman, indicted a hymn to the heathen Wodan ; Southey hoped to write a “Runic song” ; and George Borrow, doughtiest of translators, rendered passably the kindred Danish ballads (1826).

III.

But to create new and noble poetry out of the Norse stories was reserved for the second half of the nineteenth century, and for three men, utterly unlike in genius, temper, and line of approach—Matthew Arnold, Robert Buchanan, and William Morris. The first two owed little but their material to Norse myth. Arnold, like his Greek, in the *Grande Chartreuse* is “thinking of his own gods” as he stands “beside the northern strand,” and his *Balder Dead*, though a noble poem, is noble in the Homeric, not the Eddic way. And if Arnold

is antique, Buchanan is defiantly modern. His *Balder the Beautiful* (1877) is an old wine-skin filled with new wine, the heady vintage of a fervid Scot who turned the story of Odin's son into an epic of the suffering and sacrificed Christ, and ostentatiously disclaimed indebtedness to the vulgar myths of the Edda. William Morris, on the other hand, was, as we know, a devoted, even a fanatical, lover of northern story and of the northern land. And his own elemental grandeur and simplicity of nature made him more instinctively and easily at home there than either the fastidious Hellenist or the neo-theologian could ever have become.

Moreover, Morris devoted his most sustained poetic labour in this field to the story which was at once the most neglected among us, and the most rich and various in its scope and movement, the grandest in its tragic intensity, of all the stories of the North, perhaps even of the world. And his *Sigurd the Volsung* is, when all reserves have been made, a great and splendid poem, the one adequate presentment to-day in English of the story which Wagner has so magnificently clothed for the world in the universal language of music. On all these grounds it is by far the most significant result in our poetry of the influence of Norse myths, and it will be not unfitting that it should occupy us for the remainder of this discourse.

The story of Sigurd and Brynhild is, strictly, only the kernel or nucleus of the story of the Volsungs, as told in the Edda and in the prose Volsung saga based upon it. It is preceded and followed by two story groups of distinct character and lesser value, the one—which we may call the antecedent story—telling his youth and early feats and the career of his father Sigmund, the other—the sequel story—the vengeance for his death.

Heroism is the ground tone of all three. But the antecedent story moves among primeval figures, with more of elemental and subhuman forces in them and less of man. There are dwarfs and giants, and you can change into a beast, or a dragon at will. Sigmund is more dæmonic, less human, than Sigurd; dæmonic too is his sister Signy, who, fearful lest the Volsung race should die out, takes the shape of another woman, seeks out her brother, and, unrecognized, bears him a son; dæmonic, no less, this son, Sinfjötli,—a marvellous, uncanny child, who at ten does fabulous feats, as becomes one who is of Volsung stock on both sides.

In the sequel story, on the other hand, primeval myth recedes, and we are on the borders of history. When Sigurd has been slain by his wife's brothers, Gudrun marries Attila, the Hun king of the fifth century ; Attila invites them to his court, and they and all their retinue perish in a great battle in his hall, after which Gudrun takes her own life.

The kernel story is of finer stuff than these. It has not only heroism but tragedy ; not only colossal daring or ruthless revenge, but love and hate in conflict and in league. It will suffice to recall the crucial situations and moments. There is (1) Sigurd's discovery of the Valkyrie Brynhild, on the wild mountain top, Hyndfell, where she has been laid asleep by Odin, within a wall of flames which the man who would win her must break through. They plight troth, exchange rings, and part. (2) Sigurd's reception at the court of the Niblung kings on the Rhine, the magic potion given him by their crafty mother which obliterates the memory of Brynhild, and his marriage with their sister Gudrun. (3) Sigurd's second visit to Brynhild, still oblivious of the past, to help Gunnar, the eldest of the kings, to win her for his wife. When Gunnar's horse will not face the flames, Sigurd assumes his likeness, enters her bower, and receives from her, as Gunnar, the ring, his own, which she may not refuse to the man who penetrates her fire-wall. (4) The marriage of Gunnar and Brynhild, and their life, full of sinister presage, side by side with Sigurd and Gudrun, in Gunnar's palace. (5) The quarrel of the two queens by the river side ; when Brynhild taunts Gudrun with being the wife of Gunnar's serving-man, and Gudrun retorts that it was this serving-man, not Gunnar, who had crossed the flame-wall, and won her hand, in Gunnar's name, and received her ring, and she shows her the ring. (6) Brynhild's vengeance for her betrayal by her first lover. In one last consummate scene with her, Sigurd tries all possible solutions : her love will not be tempted nor her hate appeased.¹² Then she compels the unwilling Gunnar to take his life. He is slain in Gudrun's arms, and when Gudrun's shriek is heard, a wild laugh rings out in the court,—the laugh of a woman who has triumphed but whose heart is broken ; she plunges the dagger into her breast, and her body and Sigurd's, united at last, are burnt on the same pyre.

Such, in bald summary, was the complex Volsung story : a German legend blended, by steps we can only in part decipher, with Norse

myth. And as the kernel was German, so to Germany belong, apart from the Eddic lays, its most splendid embodiments in art : the twelfth century *Nibelungenlied*, the *Nibelungen* trilogy of Hebbel, and the *Ring der Nibelunge* of Wagner. Of these I must say no more here than that the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* softens and humanizes the mythic and savage elements ; ignores in particular the first meeting of Sigurd and Brynhild, thus completely changing the character of their relations ; and invests the whole with the manners and the atmosphere of the feudal and chivalrous age in which he lived. While Wagner, glorying in myth as the century of Jakob Grimm had learnt to do, fearlessly draws gods and demons, dwarfs and dragons into the magic sphere of his music drama. And this, too, was the way of William Morris.¹⁸

IV.

Morris's close concern with the North did not begin with his work upon *Sigurd*, but it was then still comparatively recent. Iceland was not his first love. His first poems, of 1858, are steeped in French and Celtic romance, in Froissart and Malory ; the gracious charm of French cathedrals and chateaux, and of tapestry and metal work, had captured the artist in him, and they never lost their hold. Northern stories are told, alongside Greek or eastern ones, by the mariners of the *Earthly Paradise*, eleven years later ; and these included the great story of *Gudrun's Lovers* from the *Laxdæla* saga, where the very situation of Sigurd and Brynhild—the lover slain by the woman who loves him, by the hand of her unloved husband—reappears, translated into terms of the feuds of Icelandic farmers in the thirteenth century.

But here, too, Iceland, like Greece, shimmers through an atmosphere of delicate artistry and gracious romance. Then came a great, decisive experience. In 1871, two years after the *Earthly Paradise*, three years before *Sigurd*, he visited Iceland for the first time. His notes of this journey vividly reflect the deep impression it made on him :—

" I have seen many marvels, he writes, and some terrible pieces of country ; slept in the home field where Bolli [the Gunnar of the *Laxdæla* story] was killed. . . . I was there yesterday, and from its door you see a great sea of terrible, inky mountains tossing about ; there has

been a most wonderful sunset this evening that turned them golden though." ^{13a}

And how it transformed his conception of the events and persons :—

"Such a dreadful place," he says of Grettir's lair, "that it gave quite a new turn in my mind to the story, and transfigured Grettir into an awful and monstrous being, like one of the early giants of the world."

Two years later, in 1873, he went again, and the land impressed him with a sense of "almost sacramental solemnity".

We can understand, then, that this experience threw a new and transforming light upon the Volsung story also, which already in 1870 he had proclaimed to be one of the great stories of the world, destined to be to our race what the tale of Troy "was to the Greeks, and to those who came after, when our race has vanished, no less than the tale of Troy is to us".

But these impressions, powerful as they were, did not and could not sweep away Morris's long and rich experience as a poet and artist in many fields. He was in the full maturity of a genius tenacious as well as receptive, and the old familiar joys were not obliterated because the new and fiercer joys broke across them. They were only momentarily put to flight, like birds at the coming of storm, to return full of song again when it is over. The Morris who has seen "the fearful land," and that "great sea of terrible inky mountains tossing about" is there all the time and we never forget him for long. But there, too, is Morris the lover of old France, and Morris the weaver of tapestry and experimenter in dye ; there even, in germ, is Morris the socialist orator, by and by, at London street-corners, the great-hearted herald and builder of a new Utopia. Brynhild's wild, flame-girt, mountain bower is of the fearful land of fire and snow ; but when she has descended to her sister's house in the dale, her dwelling is some manor-house of Touraine or Kent, embowered in its gardens and orchards :—

A builded burg arising amid the leafy trees.

The close is full of fruit, the garden of roses and lilies ; doves flutter about the roofs ; and in the soaring turrets the casements stand open to the summer breeze. The Niblung burg, again, where Gunnar and Gudrun dwell, is a mediæval town such as Iceland never knew, with a ring of many towers standing up "stark and sharp and cold" above

a grim old girdling wall "dark red and worn, and ancient," and the smoke of many dwellers rising over it.

Morris the art-worker, too, finds or makes his opportunities. He likes to tell us not merely, like your mere literary poet, what things looked like, but how they were made. The saga tells simply that the halls had a golden roof; Morris, not content, adds that there were silver nails in the door. His furniture is of rare and costly materials, and cunningly wrought. When the young Sigurd goes to his uncle's hall, he finds him sitting in a chair of walrus-tusk, and his robe is of mountain gold, and the floor of the hall sea-green, and his royal staff tipped with a crystal knob. The forging of Sigurd's sword ("The Wrath of Sigurd") is full of the zest of the metal-worker.¹⁴ We know, too, that Morris was experimenting with blue dye while engaged on the poem; he tells us in his letters that he often wrote with blue hands, and some of the blue seems, in fact, to have come off on to the poetry. Blue is the colour of every one's best clothes. The Niblung warriors are blue-clad. When Gudrun goes with her maids to visit Brynhild, they put on their dark-blue gear, and Brynhild rises to meet them from a throne covered with dark-blue cloth. And at night they sleep on dark-blue bolsters. Even the Valkyrie Brynhild's awesome, fire-girt bower, built by Odin on Hyndfell, has been provided by a thoughtful upholsterer with a bed and bolster of blue.¹⁵

If Morris the art-worker found his opportunities, Morris the socialist was, if not made, certainly nourished and stimulated by what he saw in Iceland. The republican society of which he read in the sagas, where the greatest chief might be met in his hay-field tedding his hay, had already attracted his interest, and begun to thrust social questions and problems to the fore in his mind. Thus the curse that lies upon the land of the Volsungs is conceived not as a pestilence, or an unappeasable blood feud, but simply as the present state of society, the economic system founded on labour and capital, under which we live. So that when the curse is removed,

Men's hearts are fulfilled of joyance; and they cry, the sun shines now
With never a curse to hide it, and they shall reap that sow!

(p. 53).

And when Sigurd goes forth to battle with his new kinsfolk the Niblungs, his victory will bring in the reign of social equality:—

—the lowly man exalted, and the mighty brought alow:

And when the sun of summer shall come aback to the land,
 It shall shine on the fields of the tiller that fears no heavy hand ;
 The sheaf shall be for the plougher, and the loaf for him that sowed,
 Through every furrowed acre where the son of Sigmund rode.

V.

But it was not as yet the society which chiefly attracted him in Iceland, or worked creatively on his imagination. It was, of course, above all the great Volsung story itself, its heroic and tragic intensity, and its savage and dæmonic horror. But it was also the scenery, the wild tossing of those "terrible inky mountains"; and it was, not less, the grave, melancholy wisdom, penetrated with foreboding and the sense of doom in earthly things, which rises like an emanation, from the lips of this tragic humanity in the midst of this stern nature, at hours of crisis, or in the last encounter with death. Let us see first what Morris's Iceland looks like when his eye is really on it.

There is "a desert of dread in the uttermost part of the world,"

Where over a wall of mountains is a mighty water hurled,
 Whose hidden head none knoweth, nor where it meeteth the sea ;
 And behind the green arch of the waterfall as it leaps sheer from the cliff,
 The hush of the desert is felt amid the water's roar,
 And the bleak sun lighteth the wave-vault, and tells of the fruitless plain,
 And the showers that nourish nothing, and the summer come in vain.

That is the haunt of the dwarf Andvari, who guards the fateful treasure of the Niblungs. And here is Brynhild's Hyndfell. Sigurd is riding towards it. For days he rides through this desert, longing in vain for the dwellings of man and the joyance of human speech. At length, one dawn,

From out of the tangled crag-walls, amidst the cloudland grey
 Comes up a mighty mountain, and it is as though there burns
 A torch amidst of its cloud-wreath.

He rides on, and at noon it is covered with clouds. Then, as the day wears, the winds rise and disperse the clouds,

And, lifted a measureless mass o'er the desert cragwalls high,
 Cloudless the mountain riseth against the sunset sky . . .
 And the light that afar was a torch is grown a river of fire,
 And the mountain is black above it, and below it is dark and dim,
 And there is the head of Hindfell, as an island in the sun.

(p. 155).

But even in the southern type of scenery hints of this Icelandic desolation and awe at moments intrude. Thus hard by the Niblung burg is "a black pool huge and awful, unfathomable, and lined with dark sheer crags" (p. 339).

And when the men and women who lived amid these scenes uttered their thoughts about life and death, it was in a sense which appealed powerfully to Morris, so that he would gladly have made it his own,—a kind of intuitive and untaught philosophy, the philosophy of brave men, unconscious of Christianity, untouched by Christian hopes. "What a glorious outcome of the worship of courage these stories are!" he once wrote after re-reading *Njála*, the greatest of them. And then, to another correspondent: "It may be that the world shall worsen . . . and Evil break loose . . . and like the kings and heroes . . . also the gods must die, who made that imperfect earth. . . . Sometimes we think that we must live again; yet if that were not, would it not be enough that we helped to make this unnameable glory and lived not altogether heedless? This seems to me pretty much the religion of the Northmen."

And this is the temper of the wisdom that Morris has put into the mouth of his Valkyria Brynhild, in the great troth-plighting scene with Sigurd on Hyndfell. He did not find it in his source. Her "wisdom" in the corresponding saga scene is of later origin and represents on the whole a sound prudential morality. She bids him avoid the wiles of women, and drunken brawlers, beware of provoking feuds, and see that the dead have decent burial: ideas quite out of keeping with the magnificent contempt of life which inspires Sigurd's reply in the genuine stanza just before, to her warning that their love will mean their doom:—

I will not fly, though death be my fate,
Born I was not to blench;
All I would have is to love thee only
As long as my life shall last.

And so, in company with Achilles, but against all the moralists, he chooses a brief existence of supreme bliss instead of many days of common-place ease. And it is in the spirit of this choice of Sigurd's that Morris has framed the wisdom of his own Brynhild. In these lines, for instance, he has nobly expressed the great thought that heroism and courage are vital to the life of the universe—that they are the

sustaining powers that keep the fabric of the world from tottering to its fall :—

Know thou, most mighty of men, that the Norns shall order all,
And yet without thine helping shall no whit of their will befall ;
And the night of the Norns, and their slumber, and the tide when the world
 runs back,
And the way of the sun is tangled, it is wrought of the dastard's lack ;
But the day when the fair earth blossoms, and the sun is bright above,
Of the daring deeds is it fashioned and the eager hearts of love.

(p. 163).

Nor does she warn him, in the spirit of Polonius, to keep out of quarrels. She bids him act where need calls, and then neither repent his action nor exult in it, but *abide* it ; and then he will be enthroned above all the chances of time,

And look on to-day and to-morrow as those that never die.

And how did Morris handle these deeds and sufferings themselves ? How did he shape and present them as an artist ? Here, too, there is no doubt, Iceland had her way with him ; he felt the spell of her story tellers no less than of her makers of story. And it was strong enough to make him defy very deep-rooted and authoritative canons of art. The great tradition of epic poetry would have bidden him concentrate upon the supreme central phase of the story ; the subject of the *Iliad* is not the siege of Troy, but an episode in its last years ; the action of the *Odyssey* covers six weeks, that of *Paradise Lost*, from the waking in Hell to the expulsion from Eden, need not be more than a few days. Fastidious poetic artists, like his French contemporaries Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme, had taken a single poignant moment—the death of Sigurd and Brynhild's terrible laugh, the waking of Angentyr or the slaying of Hjartan, and carved it in the flawless marble or onyx of their verse. But Morris, like the German poet Hebbel, whose *Nibelungen* trilogy had appeared thirteen years before (1862), felt, with the old saga writer, the grandeur of the whole cycle of lays, the story not of Sigurd only but of the House of the Volsungs—his forbears and his progeny—and he put the whole cycle into his poem. It moves before us like a vast piece of tapestry such as Morris may have been weaving as he made it, for no poet, he declared, was worth anything who could not make an epic while he wove—where everything that belongs to the story is naïvely put into it,

men and gods, trees and beasts, the human and subhuman, the tragic and grotesque. Every moment and incident has for him its own kind of power and value, and he accepts and renders it with the same large-hearted and equable serenity. This did not always tend to propitiate his readers. Victorian England, for which Tennyson had veiled in distant and awestruck allusion the incestuous birth of Arthur, was disconcerted to read at the very outset the primeval loves of Sigmund and Signy told at length; and his friend Rossetti angrily derided Fafnir's transformation into a dragon as "silly," provoking a drastic retort from "Topsy". Even in Wagner the dragon has tried the patience of the unelect.

VI.

Nevertheless, the enduring interest of Morris's *Sigurd*, as of Wagner's *Nibelungen Ring*, must rest mainly upon the tragic and lyric power of the great central scenes. Here, again and again, the equable flow of Morris's verse becomes close knit and weighty in answer to the grip of the situation. When Brynhild, for instance, coming into Gunnar's hall, as his bride, sees one far surpassing the Niblung brother, seated beside them, and is told that it is Sigurd, once her betrothed, she addresses him with a greeting full of restrained passion under the courtly words :—

All grief, sharp scorn, sore longing, stark death in her voice he knew,
But gone forth is the doom of the Norns, and what shall he answer
thereto . . .

And he replies, with anguish no less resolutely kept down :—

She heard and turned to Gunnar as a queen that seeketh her place,
But to Gudrun she gave no greeting, nor beheld the Niblung's face.

Then the discovery scene, in the river, where Brynhild suddenly wading deeper in, Gudrun cries :—

Why wadest thou so
In the deeps and upper waters, and wilt leave me here below ?
Then e'en as one transfigured loud Brynhild cried and said ;
So oft shall it be between us at hall and board and bed ; . . .
E'en so shall the gold cloths lap me, when we sit in Odin's hall,
While thou shiverest, little hidden, by thy lord the Helper's thrall,
By the serving man of Gunnar, who all his bidding doth,

And waits by the door of the bower, while his master plighteth the troth.
But my mate is the King of the Kingfolk who rode the Wavering Fire,
And mocked at the ruddy death to win his heart's desire.

It is well, O ye troth-breakers ! there was found a man to ride
Thro' the waves of my Flickering Fire to lie by Brynhild's side.

Then no word answered Gudrun till she waded up the stream
And stretched forth her hand to Brynhild, and thereon was a golden gleam ;

White waxed the face of Brynhild as she looked on the glittering thing :
And she spake : " By all thou lovest, whence haddest thou the ring ?"
And she turns on the mocking Gudrun " as one who clutches a knife ".

And Gudrun tells the deadly secret.

" I had the ring O Brynhild, on the night that followed the morn,
When the semblance of Gunnar left thee in thy golden hall forlorn."

For he cloaked him in Gunnar's semblance and his shape in Gunnar's hid :

Thus he wooed the bride for Gunnar, and for Gunnar rode the fire,
And he held thy hand for Gunnar, and lay by thy dead desire.
We have known thee for long, O Brynhild, and great is thy renown ;
In this shalt thou joy henceforward, and nought in thy nodding crown.

Now is Brynhild wan as the dead, and she openeth her mouth to speak,
But no word cometh outward. . . .

Then follows the long, bitter brooding of Brynhild in ever deepening gloom, and the great scene where Sigurd seeks her out, and begs for her love despite the bonds which bind them both elsewhere. Like the sun-god he shines upon her despair, radiant with the temper that looks eagerly to the future and will not succumb to the past :—

Awake, arise, O Brynhild ! for the house is smitten thro'
With the light of the sun awakened, and the hope of deeds to do.

But all hope is fled from her.

And she cried : " I may live no longer, for the gods have forgotten the earth,
And my heart is the forge of sorrow, and my life is a wasting dearth."

Then once again spoke Sigurd, once only and no more :
A pillar of light all golden he stood on the sunlit floor ;
And his eyes were the eyes of Odin, and his face was the hope of the world,

And he cried : " I am Sigurd the Volsung, and belike the tales shall be true,
That no hand on the earth may hinder what my hand would fashion and do :

O live, live, Brynhild beloved ! and thee on the earth will I wed,
 And put away Gudrun the Nibling,—and all those shall be as the dead."
 (But his breast so swelled within him that the breastplate over it burst,)
 And he saw the eyes of Brynhild, and turned from the word she spake :
" I will not wed thee, Sigurd, nor any man alive."

A great line, terrible in its naked simplicity, preluding the ruin which she is about to bring upon them both. Then, after the death of Sigurd, Brynhild's own end. Her vengeance is over ; Sigurd, her victim, is now to be her bridegroom and she his bride. She arrays herself, like the dying Cleopatra, in her royal robes, and her face no more is wan ; then thrusts the blade into her breast, and delivers her last charge to Gunnar helplessly standing by :—

" I pray thee a prayer, the last word in the world I speak,
 That ye bear me forth to Sigurd, and the hand my hand would seek.
 And lay his sword, ' the blade that frightened death,'
 Betwixt my side and Sigurd's as it lay that while agone,
 When once in one bed together we twain were laid alone :
 How then when the flames flare upward may I be left behind ?
 How then may the road he wendeth be hard for my feet to find ?
 How then in the gates of Valhall may the door of the gleaming ring
 Clash to on the heels of Sigurd, as I follow on my king ? "

With that magnificent cry of triumph in death, like Cleopatra's
 " Husband, I come ! " I close.

Morris's *Sigurd* can hardly be counted among the supreme poems of English literature. The facile troubadour eloquence of the born romancer was too deeply engrained in him to admit, save at rare moments, the rigour and the economy of great style. If we are to compare the style of Sigurd with that of any of the great epics of the world, it is plainly not with the subtle and compressed manner, or the high-wrought harmonies of Vergil or Milton, that we must place its easy, spontaneous flow. Nor, save for its spontaneous flow, does it recall the simpler art of Homer. The simplicity of Homer goes with a flawless clarity of outline and a limpid speech which fits the meaning.

What, then, has Norse myth and its influence meant for English poetry ? Two things :—

(1) It brought to the cognizance of our eighteenth century poets, who up to 1760, with all their brilliant accomplishment in oratorical, expository, and satiric verse, knew neither how to sing a song nor to tell a story, a new and noble poetry of which song and story were the

vital breath and blood. Percy's *Reliques* were still to come, and Burns was but just born : only the greatest of the old ballads and of Burns' songs can match the finest Eddic lays in power, or in exemption from the vicious diction of the age. The nineteenth century had learnt, long before William Morris, to sing ; but its mastery of *story* in verse, on a grand scale, was still faltering and uncertain. Tennyson, Byron, are great in single scenes, episodes, idylls, but cannot shape a larger whole. Morris, when all deductions have been made, has left us the nearest approach to great epic made in our time.

(2) The Norse influence brought into a society fastidiously refined, or sordidly gross, or good-humouredly prosaic, the tonic spectacle of a humanity which was in some indefinable way, great, simple, heroic, where colossal things were dared and suffered, and the gods were never far off. And if our own age is more complex, more experienced, more rich with the intellectual spoils and the spiritual treasures of the world, it has learned to see only the more clearly and comprehensively, this elemental poetry, where Life, and Death, and Love, the eternal themes of all poetry, are thought of in so great and simple a way, and where beauty, the beauty begotten of a "fearful land," and only possible there, is so superbly wrung from fear.

NOTES.

¹ (p. 75) *Beowulf*, 885 f. It is unimportant for the present purpose that the scene of the recital of the Volsung song, is laid in a Scandinavian land ; the story was in any case made his own by an Anglian poet. The story of *Beowulf* itself is well known to have Scandinavian analogues ; but the evidence does not justify us in reckoning it the first (and one of the greatest) examples of Scandinavian literary influence by assigning it to a Scandinavian source.

The Volsung story as told in *Beowulf* differs from other versions in making Sigmund, not Sigurd his son, slay the dragon, and win deathless glory thereby. Müllenhoff peremptorily dismisses this as a perversion of the original story. But it has to be remembered that it emerges centuries earlier than any other version.

² (p. 76) This is consistent with the occasional quotation of a story from Saxo. Thus Nashe in *Piers Penniless* tells from this source the gruesome story of the two friends Asmundus and Asuitus, one of whom insists on being buried in the other's grave, and is found, some days after, mutilated by the corpse ;—a mixture of romance and horror quite in the Elizabethan vein.

³ (p. 77) Inserted by Alfred into his translation of Orosius's *History of the World*, reproduced in Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader III*, and elsewhere.

⁴ (p. 77) *Egils saga Skallagrimssonar*, c. 55. Much other Norse poetry was, of course, composed on English soil; but it was intended for Norse, not for English, ears. The Scandinavian kings of the tenth and eleventh centuries all had fighting singers in their train; some of them invaded England, and had their battles, or their death, thus commemorated then and there. Thus Thjodolf Arnorrson sang the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066), and the death of his master, King Harald, after fighting in it himself. Egil Skallagrimsson's own most famous poem, *Hofudlausn* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 266), was composed in a York prison, as the price of his life. It is needless here to notice the contention of Vigfússon that a great part of the Norse poetic literature was actually composed in these islands. He stood practically alone in this view.

⁵ (p. 77) Egil Skallagrimsson, who praised Athelstane, could have understood without great difficulty the praise of Shakespeare written two years ago, in the same measure, by the veteran Icelandic poet Matthias Jochumsson, for the *Book of Shakespeare Homage*. It arrived too late to appear there and was separately published (*Ultima Thule Sendeth Greetings*: Univ. of Oxford Press, 1916).

^{5a} (p. 79) Though often translated and always admired, the Waking has inspired no notable poetry in English. Leconte de Lisle rendered it finely in *L'Épée d'Argentyr* (*Poèmes Barbares*). A notice of it is subjoined in Appendix I.

⁶ (p. 77) Sophus Bugge, *Studies on the Origin of the Scandinavian Stories of Gods and Heroes*, Christiania, 1881-9. *The Heroic Poems in the Older Edda*, *ibid.*, 1896. The latter is translated by W. H. Schofield (*The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899). A good brief discussion is given by H. Gering, *Die Edda*, *Introd.*

⁷ (p. 79) W. P. Ker, *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages* (*Camb. Lit. History*, Vol. X, Chapter X), to which this section is otherwise indebted.

⁸ (p. 81) It is interesting to remember that when Gray's lay was published in 1768, it was read by a clergyman in the Orkneys to the peasants there. After a few lines they said they knew it in Norse and had often sung it to him when he asked them to recite an old song. Scott, *Pirate*, XV.

⁹ (p. 84) *Harvard Studies*, Vol. IX, 1903.

¹⁰ (p. 84) *Select Icelandic Poetry*, 1804. Byron notices him in the *English Bards*:—

Herbert shall wield Thor's hammer, and sometimes
In gratitude thou'lt praise his rugged rhymes.

¹¹ (p. 84) It was based on a curious misunderstanding, "crooked boughs of skulls" being merely a poetic periphrasis for drinking horns.

¹² (p. 86) Of this scene, as known to us through the prose of the saga, Andrew Lang wrote (*Homer and the Epic*, p. 396, quoted by Professor Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 282): "Homer has no such scene, no such ideas. The mastery of love in Brunhild's heart, her scene with Sigurd, where he ranges through every choice before them, to live as friends, to live as lovers, her disdainful rejection of friendship, her northern pride of purity, his anguish,

her determination to stay and follow him . . . all this is mere perfection, all is on the loftiest level of Shakespeare, and has no parallel in Greek or Roman poetry." This and several other crucial scenes, are known to us unfortunately only from the prose paraphrase, the corresponding verse having belonged to the lost leaves of the great Edda MS.

¹³ (p. 87) On the German development of the story see Appendix II.

^{13a} (p. 88) *Journals of Travel in Iceland*, 1871.

¹⁴ (p. 89) The forging of this sword, called "The Wrath of Sigurd," suggests comparison with the famous Homeric making of the shield of Achilles; Morris's love of showing how things are done and made, his insight into arts and crafts, is in fact a Homeric trait. All the famous writers of epic before him, Virgil, Tasso, Milton—were men of letters whose only artistry was verse: Morris alone was craftsman as well as poet. It is true that the motive of Morris's forging scene is not only, like Homer's, the craftsman's art; Regin, the Northern Vulcan, is "Master of the Masters in the smithy-ing craft," but he is also cunning with all the cunning of the dwarf race, and does his best to cheat the boy of the sword he has promised him: so when it is tried on the anvil it shivers into fragments. The scene is thus tense with drama; but we feel the craftsman's instinct in the vivid rendering of that fierce exposure of the fraud: Sigurd bids Regin try the finished weapon:

Then Regin trembled and shrank, so bright his eyes outshone
As he turned about to the anvil, and smote the sword thereon;
But the shards fell shivering earthward, and Sigurd's heart grew wroth
As the steel flakes tinkled about him: "Lo, there the right hand's troth!"

There is a closer parallel to the Homeric shield with its inwrought basreliefs of Greek life, in the description of Brynhild's weaving (Morris's special craft) of a golden web, with all the feats of Sigurd wrought in it. And he does not forget to tell us that the weaver of the glittering gold is seated on cloths of dark-blue (p. 186).

¹⁵ (p. 89) Blue is frequent in the early art of man; but Morris's turn for it was derived from artistry not archæology.

APPENDIX I.

THE WAKING OF ANGENTYR.

The *Waking of Angentyr* is one of the pieces which reflect most distinctly the savage grandeur and the volcanic terrors of Iceland. In poetic greatness, as in concentrated power of style, it surpasses anything in Old English. Hervor, daughter of the dead hero Angentyr has come across the sea to the island where her father lies buried, to wake him from his death-sleep and demand of him the magic sword Tyrting, forged by the dwarfs, her heritage. It is a sinister heirloom, fraught with disaster to her race, and the girl's quest, like Childe Roland's in Browning, is at once heroic and tragic, an undaunted thrusting on towards an end which, she knows, means her doom. And as only in the tragedies of the primitive myth world, and as in that wonderful fantasia on them, *Childe Roland* itself, all the earth and heaven, man and nature, appears as grim onlookers at the tragic action filling the whole scene with bodeful or mocking voices and appalling visions. Nothing is indifferent.

The whole story is told in brief pregnant dialogue, with barely a line or two of narrative. "At sunset in Munarvoe the young maid met a shepherd with a flock." A weird haunting picture in itself. The shepherd bids her turn back and seek shelter. She scornfully refuses, and asks the way to the burial mounds. He is horror-struck. "Ask me not that, thou art in evil case! Let us run thence fast as feet can carry us: for out of doors all is awesome to men's eyes." She offers him gifts to guide her. But the richest gifts would not keep him from rushing home. For all the island is ablaze with flames; the graves are opening, field and fen are all alight. "What of that," quoth Hervor; "though all the island be aflame, we must not let the dead men scare us so soon: we have to parley with them." And so the shepherd speeds away to the woods, but "greater grows at the stress of peril the close-knit heart in the breast of Hervor". She comes to the grave mound and calls aloud to her father through the flames: "Wake thou, Angentyr! It is Hervor thy only daughter that bids thee wake! Give me the sword out of the grave which the Dwarfs forged." There is no answer. She turns to scoff at all the buried chiefs. "Surely ye are become heaps of dust since ye will not answer me." And she calls again, and curses their obstinacy. At last Angentyr unwillingly replies: "Hervor, daughter, why dost thou call and curse? Thou art walking to thy doom: mad art thou grown, and wild of wit that thou wakenest the dead?" She answers sharply: "I was ever held to be like other mortals till I came hither in search of thee: give me the sword!" He pretends that it is not there; for foemen

buried him and kept Tyrfing. Let her hurry back to her ship out of the flames while she may. She only answers by threatening to lay spells on them so that they would rot and be really dead. At last he confesses that the magic sword lies under him, all wrapped about with fire, and no maid on earth dares brandish it. "I care nothing for the burning fire, the flame sinks before my eyes." And when she rushes forward towards the fire to clasp it, he thinks only of saving her and gives her the sword: "for I cannot deny thee, thou young maiden!" She breaks into an exulting cry: "Well hast thou done, O Viking chief; me sees a happier lot is mine than if I had conquered all Norway". But the father answers sadly and scornfully: he knows that her joy is vain and the prelude to doom. "Thou knowest not, daughter, whereat thou rejoicest: hapless are thy words. Thou shalt bear a son who shall wield Tyrfing, and it shall be the ruin of all thy race." "Little I reck how my sons may quarrel, the daughter of kings is of high heart." And she speeds away with a last greeting to the dead in the mound. But now, like Lady Macbeth, after the crisis she knows what she has gone through. "Truly I felt between life and death, she mutters, when all around me the fires were burning!"

APPENDIX II.

THE GERMAN AND THE NORTHERN VERSIONS OF THE VOLSUNG STORY.

In the German epic the complex story has an artistic unity which it has not in the North : on the other hand, the primitive sublimity of the tale has been attenuated along with its primitive paganism ; we are reading a romance of adventure, reflecting the Christianized manners, the brilliant court life, and the chivalry, of the Minnesinger age. Instead of the Valkyrie on the wild fell top, only to be won by riding through the ring of flames, Brynhild is a princess in a palace, overcome by cunning in a test of strength. The whole is more concentrated and better organized. In particular, the antecedent story of Gudmund and Signy, so loosely attached to that of Sigurd, and so deeply tinged with the savage grandeur of the pagan age, falls away altogether, and had probably quite faded out of the German tradition. The sequel story, on the other hand, receives a new and powerful motive, which for the first time knits it close to the story of Sigurd. For it becomes now the story of Gudrun's vengeance upon her brothers for the murder of her passionately loved lord. Whereas in the Northern version, Gudrun's marriage to Atli begins a new chapter in a story already complete ; and Atli's treacherous attack on Gunnar is motivated not by vengeance for Sigurd, but by hunger for the treasure he has won. Gudrun's passion of grief for the glorious hero she has lost is incomparably rendered in the northern poems ; but they have nothing parallel to the terrible heroine of the Second Part of the *Nibelungenlied*, transformed by her loss from a tender woman into a pitiless avenger, insatiable in her consuming anger until the last of her guilty kinsmen is dead. The central story, on the other hand, has in the German version been impoverished by the loss of its most potent trait. Brynhild and Sigurd have had no earlier meeting on Hyndfell, no exchange of vows nor of rings. Hence, when he helps Gunnar to win her by personating him in shape and name, he is not playing false to an old love, and the wrong she suffers, though mortifying to her pride, is not the deadly offence of the perjured lover. The tragic tension of the situation is therefore very sensibly diminished.

It was necessary to indicate the chief points in which the Norse and German developments of the German legend go apart, in order to appreciate the great nineteenth century versions of the Volsung story. It is the strongest evidence of the superiority of the fragmentary but sublime Norse poetry to the rounded, coherent, and humanized German epic that the Norse form of the Volsung story rather than the German was chosen by the two great poets who nearly at the same time were occupied with it, one of them a German himself,—Richard Wagner and William Morris.

THREE LETTERS OF JOHN ELIOT AND A BILL OF LADING OF THE "MAYFLOWER".

BY RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D.LITT., ETC.

AMONGST a number of valuable autograph letters, formerly in the possession of Mrs. Luke, the authoress of the children's hymn, whose first line runs

I think when I read that sweet story of old,

there lay three letters of John Eliot, the Apostle of the North American Indians, addressed to the Rev. Jonathan Hanmer of Barnstaple, England, and containing some interesting details as to the work of Christianising and civilising the red man. With these letters there was a Bill of Lading of the goods supplied to John Eliot, by an English friend who took a keen interest in the work among the Indians, and communicated with John Eliot through Jonathan Hanmer. His name was Spragot. The main interest in this Bill of Lading lies in the fact that the goods were carried in the famous ship "Mayflower," which was in 1653 still trading with New England, but now under Puritan ownership and a Puritan captain, Master Thomas Webber of Boston. Thus the famous ship, which carried the idea of a religious republic westward, was still engaged in the North Atlantic trade thirty-three years after the Pilgrims landed on Cape Cod.

At first sight it seems as if her point of departure was Bristol ; but as we read the document through, it appears that the goods were shipped from London, having been (wholly or in part) forwarded thither from Bristol. Apparently Jonathan Hanmer's market for his cloth and canvas to clothe his Red Indians was Bristol, and the goods went thence, in the first instance, by road : or, perhaps, as there is a special charge for carting to the water-side, as well as for carriage from Bristol, the goods may have gone to London by some coasting vessel and been transferred in the Thames to the "Mayflower".

The documents are thus of the first importance ; they have a bearing on American History and upon the History of Missions. They have recently passed, by the agency of an American bookseller, at Boston, into the hands of a Transatlantic collector : while we should have been glad to retain them in England for an ornament to the proposed Mayflower University at Plymouth, their right place is clearly on the other side of the water. As to the source from which Mrs. Luke derived these documents, it is clear, from the fact that there are one or two other letters of Jonathan Hanmer in her collection, that they must be derived ultimately from Barnstable and the Hanmer family. Jonathan Hanmer was a great Puritan leader and preacher in Barnstable up to the time of the ejection in 1662, when he becomes the first Nonconformist minister of that town, to whom the Barnstable Dissenters refer their parentage. It was known from other sources that there was a strong missionary element in the Puritan churches of the seventeenth century. Their associations for work of a religious character developed ultimately into the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is interesting to find the name of John Eliot connected in some degree with the very un-Puritanical S.P.G. Shall we call it a case of Apostolical Succession ? The churches of Puritan sympathy and tendency in the West of England appear to have been keenly interested in John Eliot's apostolical labours : contributions came in, not only from private persons like Mr. Spragot, but from communities like the church at Exeter of which Mr. Nichols was minister.

John Eliot designed to make his converts graduate in "civility" before admitting them to Church Fellowship, and so his mission involved town-planning, and the organisation of town-life. The centre of this town-life was the meeting-house, upon which the Indians were already engaged when Eliot wrote.

It is interesting to note that the Puritan zeal for learning was in evidence on both sides of the water. John Eliot begged books and bought books, both for himself and for a colleague of his named Mahon, and the Devonshire churches (Exeter in particular) were able to contribute the latest biblical literature. We notice that Eliot expected his goods to come either from Barnstable or Bristol, and does not ask that they should be sent by the "Mayflower," but by any trading vessel carrying goods to Massachusetts Bay or to the Banks of New-

foundland. There is said to be a fourth letter in the collection, which relates to the ordination of John Eliot's son to the ministry. Of this I have no copy ; those which are here transcribed for me have occasional lacunæ, where a word could not be read. As I have not had access to the documents, and have not yet succeeded in getting a photograph of them, the blanks must be filled up by conjecture.

LETTER I Dated 19^t of the 5^t/52 (1652).

REVEREND AND DEARE S^r

I have receiv^d your let^r dated March. 12.-51. wherein the Lord hath made you an unexpected instrument and messenger of encouragm^t, and supply unto this work of the Lord among these poore Indians, and that it may be when expected help may be more slow : that so the Lord might please to show himself the only guide and . . . for his people in all their ways. I desire to acknowledg the Lord's . . . who hath never failed me in this work of his. It is meete that I should informe you of the state of this work that your prayers may be with the more particular faith and fervor, be breathed forth at the throne of grace, in the behalf of this work, and those who labour therein. I cannot be so particular as I would, by reason straights of time, the ship being quickly to sail after I have received your let^r. if the Lord give you opportunity of going to Excestor, or of intercourse w^h revn^d M^r Nichols by him you may heare somewhat more than I can now wright unto your self, the revn^d ministers, and christian people there having now these two years contributed towards this work, and by whose supply a great pt of the work for the civile p^t in charges and expenses hath been carried on. After several years speaking to them, the Lord opened their hearts to desire baptism . . . and to desire church estate and ministry, whereby to enjoy all God's ordinances, and to enjoy cohabitation and civile govnm^t, as subservient unto, and greatly conducing unto the spiritual ways and mercys—in this order they have been taught—they may have visible civility before they can rightly injoy visible sanctities in ecclesiastical communion. Now we looked out a place fit for to begin a towne, where a . . . numb^r of people might have subsistence togeth^r—in the year, 50, we began that work through rich grace. in the year 51 in a day of fasting and prayer they entered into a covenant wth God and each oth^r to be ruled by the Lord in all theire affaires civilian

making the Word of God theire only magna charta, for govm^{nt}, laws, and all conversation and chose rulers of Bands—50. and of an hundred. —the platforms of w^h holy governmt of Gods own institution, I have sent over this yeare unto M^r Nicols for the reverend elders in exon, and if the Lord give you opportunity I should gladly wish your self might also have a sight of it, that I might receive your . . . animadv^sions on it, but in my poor thoughts I app^hend it would be a mercy to England, if they should in this hour of time, take up that forme of govm^t w^h is a divine institution, and by w^h christ should reigne over them, by the word of his mouth. but I forget my selfe. I am speaking of the Indians whom I desire to traine up to be the Lords people only, ruled by his Word in all things, and the Lord hath blessed them in this theire govm^{nt} and guided them in judgm^t. This first yeare . . . and prepare them for holy church covenant whereby they give up themselves to be governed by the Lord ecclesiastically, in all his ordinances and church administrations, but I shall walk by good advice before I do this, they are now building themselves a meeting house w^h when it is made, it may please the Lord to call them forth to be built a spiritual house unto the Lord.

Touching w^t you say of my wrighting for a supply of books for my brother Mahn it is true I did so, but soone after the Lord was pleased to offer a comfortable supply both to him, and me also, for I bought two librarys of two ministers who left us and they are both paid for, by the Corporation in London, and my broth^r Mahn hath beene possessd of his a good while, besides the revern^d elds. ministers of exon have sent unto us new supply, and this yeare they sent unto us the 2nd edition of the new annotations upon the whole bible, so through the riches of Gods bounty he is now supplied but w^t particular books he may further want I cannot tell. S^r you make mention of a liberal gift of a religious gentleman, whose name I hope I shall hereafter know that I may expresse my thankfullness in a few lines unto him and whereas you require to know in what comodity, it may be most suitably laid out I anse^r in two comoditys chiefly first in strong linen cloth, canvas, and oth^r good hempen cloth and lokroms,¹ because in the hot sumors the Indians delight to goo in linnon, and work, if in any garm^t, only a linnon garment, if they can get it.

¹ Locram is a coarse cloth imported from Brittany, from a town of that name.

2^{ly} in red, blew, or white cottons, course and thick, some call it trading cloth w^h is the courses^r and some better. Only these two sorts of comoditys are best for the . . . the way of sending may be by ships from Barstable, who have often se hith^r, or by some Bristol ships who also trade hith^r, if by London then there is a faithfull friend of mine M^r Butcher, who will conveigh any such things to me, but it may be the goods had better be taken up in your country, than to be bought in London S^r I do also request this, that if any ships come from Barstable you would please to appoynt some or othr discente and Godly men, able to judg wisely and . . . to set ap^t so much time, as to see with his eyes, and heare with his owne ears how the matters are here and what is done among the Indians, and should he have a good allowance for his paines, it would tend much to the furtherance of o^r work and comfort of your work, and may you please to communicate this my motion to revnd M^r Nicols and consid^r w^t to be done in that case, nay if some of the churches should send forth a minister, and oth^r faithfull brethren on purpose to visit, and comfort, and incourage such a work, I see not, but it were a worthy work, and well becoming the Spirit of the gospel—but I can now go no further. I do humbly bless the Lord for the prayers that are made in all the Churches in the behalfe of this work, and us who labour in it. I beg for the continuance thereof and so commending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord, and to the blessing of his grace I rst

your unworthy fellow labourer

in the gospel of Christ

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 19^t
of the 5^t 52.

LETTER II, 'Dated 7th of the 8th Month 1652.

REVERN^d AND MUCH RESPECTED IN CHRIST

I rec^d let^s from you full of love, both in acknowledgm^t and in-couragm^t in this work of the Lord among the Indians to w^h last I have by the former ship returned answ^r according as you desired, but lest these let^s should faile and miscary coming so far, and through so many hands before they can come at you, therefore I thought it necessary to write by this ship also, as I shall by the next likewise if the Lord give

optunity. your loving expression about books I thus answer^d t^t through the goodnesse of God, wants are well supplied by the purchase of two librarys one for my broth^r Mahon, the other for my selfe, as also Rever^d M^r Nicols of Excetor wth the rest of the revernd ministers there and christian people have made a good supply unto us, both in books blessed be the Lord and blessed be they. for the fittest disposal of t^t 5^g you mention, because o^r Indians are now come to cohabitation and labour, they much delight in linnen to work in, in the summer especially, if therefore it be laide out in good canvas and other good strong linnen for shirts, and some for some cotton about head cloathes etc. it will best accomodate us for the present—unless some be laide out in thick warme white blanket cloth wh I think is plentyfully made in your country, such things will best suit us. for the way of sending it, I desire it may be by your . . . shipping, and if none be bound for the Bay of Massachusett yet if any be bound for the I^{ld} of Shoals, the great fishing place of N.E. it may be safely conveyed unto me for the minister who p^rcheth there is named M^r Brock, a godly man, unto whom the care being comited I doubt not but he will carefully send them unto me, or if they be bound to any other port with us, let^s and goods sent unto me who am of Roxbury, will easily be notified, and conveyed. if anybody of trust have the care . . . comited to them the present state of o^r busynesse is through the grace of christ come up to this, that upon the 13th day of this month (if God will) we have a day of fasting and prayer, wherein we shall call forth sundry Indians to make confession of Jesus Christ his truth and grace whose confessions, if they, to charity appear to be such as were not revealed to them by flesh and blood, but by the fath^r then we shall proceed to build them into a visible constituted church for the injoyment of Christ in all his holy ordinances.

Now this businesse is pressing on, and filleth me so wth occupaⁿ as t^t I cannot attend much to writing S^t I earnest beg your prayers, and the prayers of all the people of the Lord, and so comending you, and all your holy labours unto the Lord's blessing and mercy—I rst

your affectionate broth^r and

fellow labourer in

the Lords vinyard

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 7^t of the 8^t month 1652.

S^r

in my form^r let^r I was bold to move t^t if the Christian people who are now contributors to this good work of the Lord would please to send over some godly messenger who may see wth his eyes what is done . . . w^h they have bestowed, it may much tend to their satisfaction, and encouragem^t in so great and good a work as this is.

1653.

Invoyce of Goods Sente on y^e May. Flower of Boston (Master Thos. Webber) for Boston in New England consigned onto M^r. John Eliott Pastor of y^e Church of Roxbury fr M^r. Jonathan Hamner, y^e Cost and Chardges, viz.

	£	s.	d.
1 Ballott of Canvas N ^r 3 q ^r 180 Awnds Cost . . .	010	14	09
1 Ballott of Canvas n ^r 6 q ^r : 210 awnds cost . . .	016	04	04
100 yards of Course Dowlis ¹ at 10½ ^d p y ^d is . . .	004	07	06
Chardges paide on those Goods at Bristoll is . . .	000	05	08
2 qts of Tourkinge Cloth of 45 yds: ys. white cost . . .	031	12	03
p ^d for canvas and packinge y ^e Tourkinge ² cloth . . .	16	00	00
p ^d for Cartidge to y ^e Water Side . . .	000	05	06
p ^d for Carryadge of y ^e Canvas from Bristoll . . .	000	00	08
p ^d for makeinge bills of entry and clearing y ^e Canvas at ye Custome House . . .	000	14	00
p ^d for Custome of 50 ells of Canvas, entered short . . .	000	03	06
p ^d for portidge, cartidge, craneidge, boatidge and warfidge, and warehouse roome for y ^e Canvas . . .	000	02	08
p ^d for Warehouse rooms, Warfidge, portidge Craneidge and boatidge for y ^e 2 q ^{rs} Tourk-Cloth . . .	000	04	08
p ^d for freight, primadge, and	000	04	08
p ^d for freight, primadge, and	002	11	00
p ^d Severall petty chardges on those goods . . .	000	00	08
Sum is	051	19	07
p ^d out of mony Nuttall forming a Certificate fr y ^e Shippinge out y ^e 2 ballotts of Canvas at shippinge office in london . . .	00	00	06
	52	00	1

¹ This again is Breton fabric from Dulas in Brittany: it is the cloth that made Falstaff so angry: "Dowlas, filthy dowlas".

² Cloth dyed light blue, the Turkey blue of the day: the form is from the Italian *turchino*.

LETTER III, Dated 29^t of the 6^t —54.

REVEN^d AND MUCH RESPECTED IN THE LORD

That liberal gift of that Christian Gentleman, Mr. Spragot, and his religious familie wth your owne exceeding great love, care, paine and travaile about the same I did by the blessing of the Lord receive, safe and in good condition, in the end of the yeare 53 w^h the Lord sent me at such a season, as t^t it was a singular comfort unto us, and furtherance of the work, provision for winter clothing and a support to the work all this spring, untill such time as the Lord affordeth us some more supplys and I doo send not only my thanks for all this love, but also an account of the improv^mt thereof unto the ends you appoynted the same and I have sent here inclosed one account to your people and the same I have sent to M^r Spegot himselfe inclosed in his let^r w^h I request you to deliv^r to him It pleaseth God thus to owne and blesse the work, they come forward in civility there is in them a great measure of natural informity and ingeniosity only it is drowned in their wild and rude manner of living, but by culture, order, governm^t and religion they begin to be furbished up, and drawn forth unto some good employm^{ts}, and by Gods blessing I hope they will be in these civile respects raised to some good improv^mt. Religion is on the gaineing hand (I blesse the Lord) though in Church estate and affaires of ecclesiastical polity they come on but slowly but in these matters they doo as they are order^d and guided by counsel, and not according to their owne notions. I hope you have seen their confessions w^h they made in the yeare 52, and the reasons of our proceeding no further at that time, in the yeare 53 I did not move at all that way for some special reasons, only some . . . against this present yeare This yeare 54 we have had anothe^r meeting about it : viz. for the examination of the Indians in poynt of knowledge in the doctrinal pt of religion, they were examined principally by the Elders of the churches about us, as also by any other Christian man, who thought good to propound any question to them, as some did for it was an open and free conference, t^t so t^r might be the fuller satisfaction given to all t^t. desired the same in conclusion wherof the Elders did give testimony of their good satisfaction in what they had received from them, but a more particular relation of this days meeting, I have sent over to the Corporation to be published togeth^r wth.

the present state we stood in, touching o^r furth^r guiding in gathering them into a church estate and covenant unto w^h I must make bold to refer you for fuller information. Also the laste yeare I sent over the Indians thanks unto the Christian people of Eng^l: for their love, also a relation of some judgm^{ts}, as the rulers have executed upon sinners w^h I hope are published, wherein may be seen their care to leade a conversation according to the word of God, and the light they have received S^r my times are filled wth occupaⁿ, and cannot enlarge furth^r. I intreat the continuance of your prayers unto the Lord for us all and for me and so comending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord I rest

Your loving broth^r and
fellow labourer in the
Lords vinyarde
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 29^t of the 6^t. 54.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONTRACTIONS,
ETC., IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LATIN MANU-
SCRIPT No. 15.

By ALEXANDER SOUTER, M.A., D.LITT.,
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
ABERDEEN.

L ATIN manuscript No. 15 in the Rylands Library is noteworthy from various points of view. The occurrence of the well-known subscription "Orate pro domino bartolomeo abbate Murbacēn," partially defaced by the notorious Libri, proves that in the fifteenth century the manuscript was in the splendid library of the Benedictine abbey at Murbach in Alsace. Of its once huge collection only about fifty or sixty volumes are now known to exist,¹ and of these there are only three in England.² The palæographical interest of the Manchester MS. is sufficiently indicated by the presence of photographs of two of its pages in the *New Palæographical Society's* facsimiles, Nos. 160, 161, from which a portion of one page has been selected by Sir E. M. Thompson for publication as facsimile No. 129 in his *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palæography* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 363 f. It has not escaped the attention of Dr. Paul Lehmann of Munich,³ nor of Professor W. M. Lindsay, who has collected and studied its abbreviations for his standard work *Notæ Latinæ* (Cambridge, 1915).

But the interest of the manuscript is not exclusively palæographical. It happens that it is one of the oldest extant minuscule manuscripts of the works of St. Cyprian, and that it was not used for the standard

¹ See the fullest list in P. Lehmann, *Iohannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften* (München, 1911), pp. 164-75.

² The other two are in the Bodleian, namely, Jun. 25; Add. C. 15 (24713).

³ See note 1.

Vienna edition of Hartel. A considerable time ago Canon E. W. Watson made a collation of it which has been used by Dr. Sanday and his coadjutors in the preparation of a definitive edition of the *Testimonia ad Quirinum*.¹ Dom John Chapman had already in 1902 published a list of its contents,² and recently it has been carefully studied by another Cyprianic scholar. It is from Dom Chapman that Dr. Hans von Soden obtains the account of the contents of the manuscript in his *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung* (Leipzig, 1904).³

I have recently been privileged to spend about a week in the study of the MS., particularly from the point of view of contractions and orthography. There seems no reason to doubt that the manuscript was written at Murbach, as some of the scribes show the writing of the Murbach-Reichenau-St. Gall-Chur school. I have special reasons with which I need not trouble the reader, to be greatly interested in the earlier MS. products of these monasteries, and it is this interest which has led me to make what I trust is a complete list of the abbreviations and contractions of the MS. A study of the valuable tables at the end of the *Notæ Latinæ* will show at once that the MS. belongs neither to Britain, nor to Spain, nor to Italy. It is the product of a considerable number of scribes, but I have not thought it necessary to distinguish these in detail, as it is the practice of the *scriptorium* of which we are in search. It may be remarked that Oxford *Junius* 25 and Paris *B.N.* 1853, which appears to be a Murbach MS., share with our manuscript the peculiarity that they have very many scribes. It would seem that towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century it was a practice of the Murbach scriptorium to hurry the production of a codex by setting a large number of scribes to work on it simultaneously.

It is perhaps hardly safe to say much about the archetype or archetypes of this manuscript. Its tradition is throughout good, for some of the later documents in it perhaps particularly good. The following spellings suggest a Spanish stage in transmission : *hospidem* (corr.) 47 v., *srahel* (perhaps an accident) 63 r., *catolicus* (nearly always), *hergo* (for *ergo*), *orum* (for *horum*), *ostes* (for *hostes*), *hoccasionem*, *hominibus*

¹ The symbol X has been employed to indicate the MS. : cf. C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vi. (1904-5), pp. 247 f.

² *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, vol. iv. (1902-3), p. 120, n. 3.

³ Pp. 153 f.

(for *omnibus*), *ac* (for *hac*), *ereticus*, *umilitas*, *quotidie* (several times, always corrected to *cotidie*), *coerere* (for *cohærerere*), *coibendos*. It is only fair, however, to admit that there is no relic of the truly Spanish *aūm* (for *autem*) or *ns̄r* (for *noster*). It is interesting to note that *dn̄m* is rightly corrected to *dñs* on fol. 104 r. and to *dñō* on fol. 106 r., 108 r., while *dñs* is rightly corrected to *dñi* on fol. 113 r., 124 v., 134 r. These phenomena indicate, I think, that the archetype contained the old symbol *DŌM* which does duty for any case, and had to be handled cautiously when converted to another system. It is probable that the archetype containing this symbol was not later than the sixth century : such a conclusion is favoured by the great excellence of the orthography in our MS. ; *pusillianimis*, *unanimis*, *susurrio* (noun), *solacium*, *catecumenus*, *Thubunas* (indecl.), *sallietur* ("will be salted"), *cottidie*, *obsetrix*, *Aron*, *exhomologesin*, *heululare*, *perierare*.

Professor A. C. Clark, in his *Descent of Manuscripts*,¹ has recently called attention to the importance of omissions for estimating the length of the lines in an archetype. Several of those that occur in this MS. are due to homœoteleuton, but the length of others suggests that the archetype consisted of short lines of seventeen letters or thereabouts each. This means that the columns were narrow, and that there were two or three columns to the page : three columns is regarded as a "Spanish Symptom". The figures are, 31, 16, 19, 17, 50, 35, 17, 35 letters respectively. The symbol * indicates omission, but on fol. 37 r. *ñd̄* (= *hic deest*) is used.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

autem : *aū*, *aūt* (once only, f. 21 v. ; a doubtful example, f. 132 v., end of line).

carus : *k̄m̄i*, "carissimi" ; *k̄m̄e*, "carissime" ; *kr̄m̄e*, "carissime" (once, 77 v.).

Christus : *x̄ps̄*.

confessor : *conf̄f̄*, "confessoribus".

deus : *d̄s̄*.

diaconus : *d̄d̄*, "diaconos" (f. 194 r.).

dicit : *dīc̄*, *d̄f̄* (once, in ras. f. 127 r.).

dixit : *dīx̄*, *d̄* (three times).

dominus : *dñs̄*.

¹ Oxford, 1918.

eius : ei ; eī, ē (f. 30 v.).

episcopus : eḡs, epis, "episcopus" (once, f. 88 r.).

est : ē.

esse : eē, eēt, "esset" (once, f. 203 r.).

frater : frā, "fratres".

frās "fratres" (thrice); frāis (end of line), "fratris" (once, f. 21 r.).

Iesus : iḡs, etc.; ihūs, etc. (the latter rare).

Israhel : isrlī, israhī (end of line; once, f. 54 v.); isrlīte.

Kalendis : kal.

{ *nobis* : nob.

{ *uobis* : uob.

non : n̄.

{ *noster* : nī (5 times only); nā, nīm, nām, nī, nāē, nē, nō, nīs; nrā (f. 109 v. = "nostram" f. 112 v.); nrī (later hand, f. 109 r., also m. 1, f. 149 r.), nō.

{ *uester* : uīm, uā, uām, uī, uē, uō, uōs, uās, uīs; urā (f. 65 v.), urām (f. 65 v.), urī (f. 10 r.).

numerus : n̄, "numero" (once, f. 142 r., expanded in margin by contemp. hand).

nunc : nē (twice, f. 6 v., f. 10 v.).

omnes : om̄.

omnipotens : omnīps, omnīpō (end of line), "omnipotenti".

per : p.

post : p' (thrice), (see *pus* under *us*); p; (once).

prae : p̄.

presbyter : prī, "presbyteris" (4 times); pī, "presbyteris," "presbytero" (once each); PRBS, "presbytero" (f. 157 r.), presb, "presbyteros" (f. 194 r.); prēsb, "presbyteri" (f. 194 r.).

pro : p̄.

propter : p̄p (thrice); p̄pter (twice); p̄pī (once, f. 41 r.), p̄pt (17 times); p̄pō (once, f. 108 r.); p̄pter (once, f. 177 v.).

quae : q; (thrice); q :

que : q; q :

qui : q (thrice).

quod : qd̄, qod̄ (18 times); q̄ (once in rasura, f. 44 r.).

quoniam : quō (44 times); qūm (30 times, once, f. 64 v., corrected by second hand to quō); qīm (18 times); qīm (15 times); qū (twice, f. 9 v., f. 47 r.).

sacerdos : sacerds (end of line), (f. 19 v.).

saeculum : secla, "saecula" (once); sclm, "saeculum" (once).

sacustus : scs, etc., scūs, etc., scitas.

secundum : secđ (18 times); secđū (thrice); secund (thrice); sed (once, f. 110 v.).

sicut : sic̄.

spiritus : sps, etc., spūs, etc. (rare); spīs, "spiritus" (once); spīm (4 times), "spiritum," spium (once); "spiritum".

spiritalis : spitalis, etc. (5 times).

sunt : s̄.

tamen : tīn (once, m. 2 in ras., f. 72 v.).

SYLLABLE SYMBOLS.

con : \bar{c} .

en : \bar{m} , "men".

ent : hab , "habent" (only f. 66 r. *bis*).

er : \bar{t} , "ter," \bar{t} (f. 44 v.).

is : b , "bis" (once expanded, *m.* 2, once unaltered); \bar{d} , "dis" (f. 150 r.);
 $\bar{m}s$, "mis" (end of line), (f. 16 v.).

it : \bar{c} , \bar{x} .

m : suprascript stroke.

n : suprascript stroke.

um : \bar{r} , "rum" (22 times); \bar{d} , "dum" (end of line, f. 19 v.); *cf.* *secundum*.

unt : \bar{r} , "runt," b , "bunt" (4 times).

ur : \bar{t} , \bar{t} (twice, f. 60 v., f. 67 v.).

us : b . b ; p , (once); m , n \bar{m} .

A NEW LIST OF THE PERSIAN KINGS.

BY ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D.,
OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

FOREWORD.

IT was in 1879 that, with the help of Syriac and Arabic documents, Nöldeke drew up the first complete list of the kings of the Sasanian dynasty of Persia. That the order and the date of their succession, as stated by the celebrated Orientalist, are mostly correct is proved by the accurate synchronisms with Roman and Byzantine Emperors, the general course of events, and some ancient but newly published sources, such as the *Synodicon Orientale* made known by J. B. Chabot in 1902, and the precious history of Meshihā-Zeka edited with a French translation by the present writer in 1907. There is, however, in the John Rylands Library a Syriac manuscript (formerly Cod. Syr. 146 in J. Rendel Harris's collection) which contains a list of these same kings differing considerably from that hitherto known. The difference extends (*a*) to the names of the kings, and (*b*) to the date of their reign. As to the divergences of dates they may partly be accounted for by the fact that these dates are given in numerical characters, which might easily have been misread or falsified by subsequent copyists; as to the changes found in a few proper names, ex. gr. 'Amri, one must own that they are somewhat more puzzling. Warahrān is, of course, the more ancient name of Bahrām.

The composition of the list may be ascribed to the thirtieth year of Chosrau Anusharwān (A.D. 561), and if so, it is possible that we have before us the most ancient chronological table of the Sasanian monarchs. The manuscript, although modern,¹ contains tracts which could not

¹ The date of its transcription is 1861 of the Seleucids, corresponding with A.D. 1550.

have been written after the Arab invasion ; for instance, in the short vocabulary of the Biblical words which it gives, some vocables are translated into Persian, not Arabic ; further, we have no reason to question the intellectual proficiency of the author of the list in relation to the successors of Chosrau Anusharwān (A.D. 531 to 652) concerning whom he keeps silence ; this is a proof that he was writing at a time preceding their succession to the throne.

The list being certainly very ancient it has been found useful to give it for what it is worth, and for purposes of comparison we subjoin the chronological table of Nöldeke which is also reproduced in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (s.v. Persia).

TRANSLATION OF THE NEW LIST.

Names of Kings.	Years of their Reign.	Chronology According to the New List.
Ardashir (son of Baksus)	6	225-231 ¹
Sapor (his son)	31	231-262
Hormizd	2	262-264
Warahrān	10	264-274
Warahrān (Sagānshāh)	17	274-291
Narsai (Karmānshāh)	4	291-295
Hormizdād	7	295-302
Sapor (his son)	69	302-371
Ardashir (son of Sapor)	7	371-378
Sapor (his brother)	3	378-381
'Amri ²	17	381-398
Warahrān (his brother)	17	398-415
Yezdegerd (son of Sapor)	21	415-436
Warahrān (son of Yezdegerd)	21	436-457
Yezdegerd (son of Warahrān)	22	457-479
Peroz (son of Yezdegerd)	29	479-508
Balash (his brother)	27	508-535
Kawada (his brother)	42	535-577
Chosrau (his son)	30 ³	577-607

¹ We take for our starting point the year 225 instead of 226 adopted by Nöldeke ; in this we follow the exact chronology established by Meshiḥa-Zeka (in Mingana's *Sources Syriacques*, vol. i., p. 106).

² No man of this name is mentioned in Nöldeke's list, and one is almost tempted to think here of Omri, the King of Israel (1 Kings xvi. 16 sq.). As in the manuscript the preceding page is devoted to the Kings of Israel, it is possible to suppose that the copyist has by an oversight repeated in the list of the Persian Kings a name which he had used in a previous list.

³ As stated above the list was written in the thirtieth year of Chosrau Anusharwān.

NÖLDEKE'S LIST.

(From *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 435.)

Ardashir I	226-241
Sapor I	241-271
Hormizd I	272-273
Bahram I	273-276
Bahram II	276-293
Bahram III (Sagānshāh)	293
Narsai	293-302
Hormizd II	302-310
Sapor II	310-379
Ardashir II	379-383
Sapor III	383-388
Bahram IV (Karmanshāh)	388-399
Yezdegerd I	399-420
Bahram V (Gor)	420-438
Yezdegerd II	438-457
Hormizd III	457-459
Peroz	457-484
Balash	484-488
Kawadh I	488-531
(Djamasp)	496-498
Chosrau (Anusharwān)	531-579

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

A TABLE GIVING AN ANALYSIS OF ACT AND SCENE DIVISIONS IN THE 1623 FOLIO.

BY WILLIAM POEL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE SOCIETY.

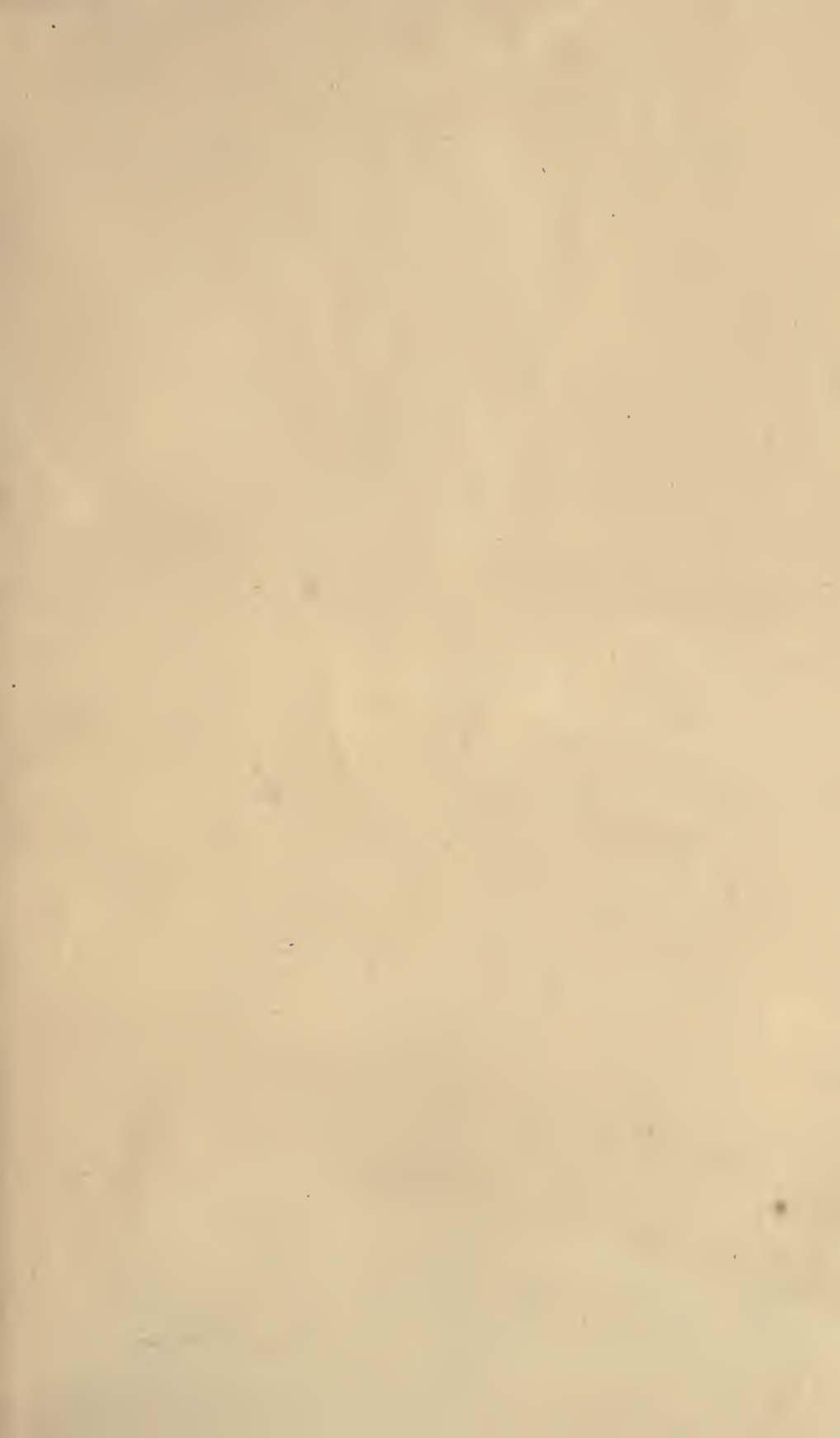
THE printed text of the moralities and historical plays of the sixteenth century is not divided into acts and scenes, nor are the first printed copies of Shakespeare's plays so arranged. Ben Jonson, the classic, clamoured for reform, and the publication of his folio in 1616, dividing his plays into acts and scenes, explain why divisions appear in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's plays. And although in some of the theatres there were evidently intervals in the dramatic performances which were filled up by dancing or music, there is good reason to believe they were sparingly used in the Globe Playhouse. There is besides internal evidence in the plays of Shakespeare to suggest continuity of movement.

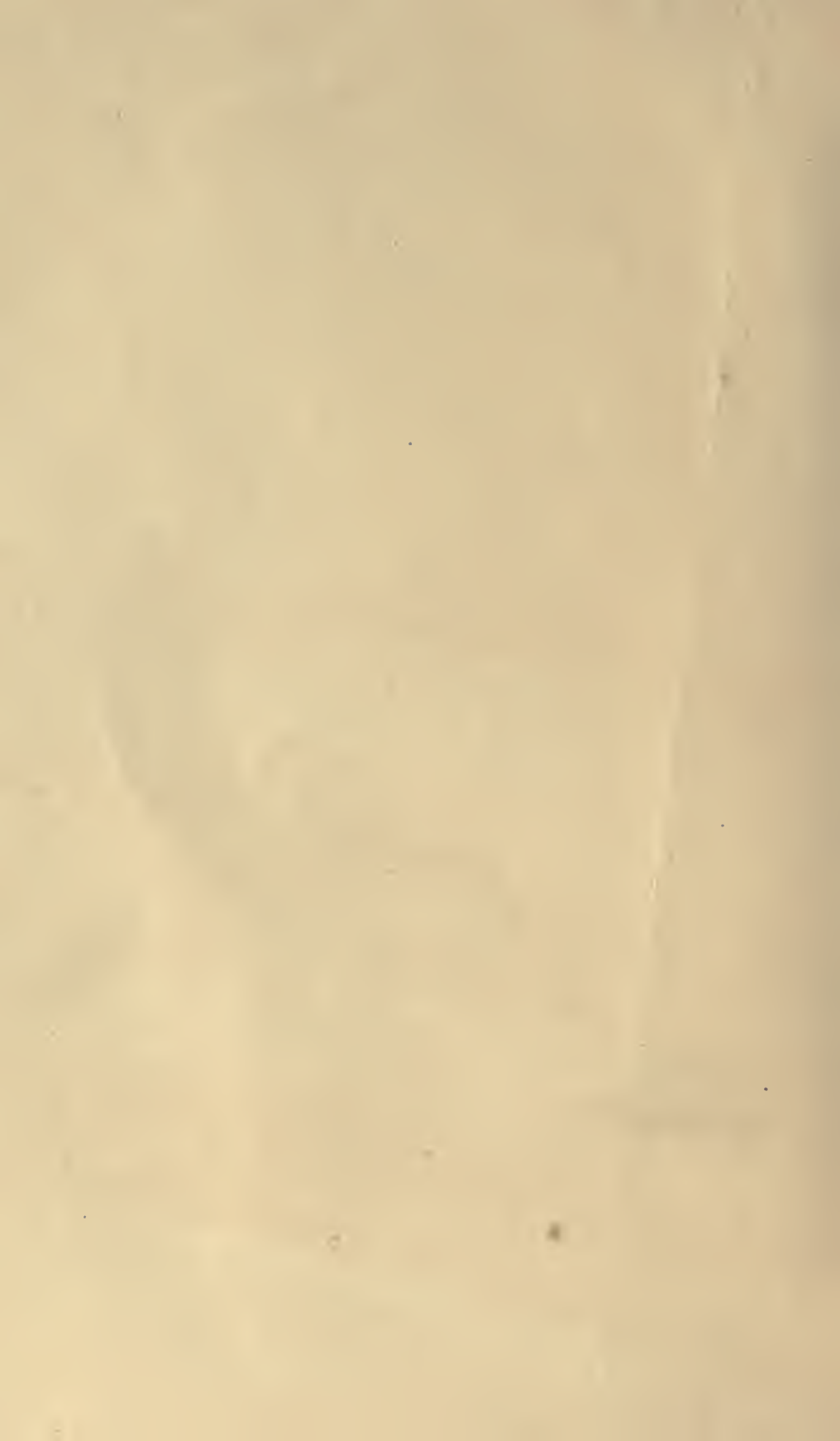
Dr. Samuel Johnson (1765) in his preface to an edition of the plays, supports this point of view :—

“I have preserved the common distribution of the plays into acts, though I believe it to be in almost all the plays void of authority. Some of those which are divided in the later editions have no division in the first folio, and some that are divided in the folio have no division in the preceding copies. The settled mode of the theatre requires four intervals in the play, but few, if any, of our author's compositions can be properly distributed in that manner. An act is so much of the drama as passes without intervention of time or change of place. A pause makes a new act. In every real and therefore in every imitative action, the intervals may be more or fewer, the restriction of five acts being accidental and arbitrary. This Shakespeare knew and this he practised ; his plays were written, and at first printed, in one unbroken continuity. . . .”

Of the thirty-six plays which appear in the first folio six of them have no division into acts and scenes, and of these six *Romeo and Juliet* is an early written play, while *Anthony and Cleopatra* is a late one. Ten of the plays are divided into acts but are without any further division of scenes, and among these ten is *Titus Andronicus*, a very early play, and *Coriolanus*, a very late one. Eight of the plays are irregular in their divisions; one has an act-division omitted altogether as in *The Taming of the Shrew*; in *Henry VI. Part I.* some of the acts are divided into scenes and not others; while in *Hamlet*, after Act II. scene ii., there are no further divisions made. Out of the whole thirty-six plays, in this first folio, there are only six in the volume having divisions—in acts and scenes—similar to those shown in the printed editions to-day; and these six include *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, together with *The Tempest*, a comedy written twenty years later. Now it seems incredible that this wide divergence of treatment of divisions in Shakespeare's plays, collected under one cover, should have been accidentally overlooked by the editors, or sanctioned by the publishers without comment. Perhaps the editors looked upon the inserted act and scene divisions as matters of little importance since they were aware that twenty-one of the plays had already appeared in print, in separate quartos, without any divisions at all. And some of these printed plays were still being acted at the "Globe," also, it may be presumed, without regular intervals. Then if the editors realized that the divisions they were adding to the plays in the folio failed to mark the conclusion of definite incidents, or even to denote changes of locality, they may have intentionally abandoned the task of completion as an impossible one.

Capell long ago (1768) pointed out the need for a solution of this act and scene difficulty when he wrote in a preface to his edition of Shakespeare's plays: "Neither can the representation be managed nor the order and thread of the fable be properly conceived by the reader till the question of acts and scenes be adjusted". Unfortunately, Capell could prescribe no remedy. To-day act and scene divisions appear in all modern editions unadjusted and unintelligible.





CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
- 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
- 420 ENGLISH.
- 430 GERMAN.
- 440 FRENCH.
- 450 ITALIAN.
- 460 SPANISH.
- 470 LATIN.
- 480 GREEK.
- 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
- 520 ASTRONOMY.
- 530 PHYSICS.
- 540 CHEMISTRY.
- 550 GEOLOGY.
- 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
- 570 BIOLOGY.
- 580 BOTANY.
- 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
- 620 ENGINEERING.
- 630 AGRICULTURE.
- 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
- 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
- 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
- 670 MANUFACTURES.
- 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
- 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
- 720 ARCHITECTURE.
- 730 SCULPTURE.
- 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
- 750 PAINTING.
- 760 ENGRAVING.
- 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
- 780 MUSIC.
- 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
- 820 ENGLISH.
- 830 GERMAN.
- 840 FRENCH.
- 850 ITALIAN.
- 860 SPANISH.
- 870 LATIN.
- 880 GREEK.
- 890 MINOR LANGUAGES.

900 History.

- 910 GEOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION.
- 920 BIOGRAPHY.
- 930 ANCIENT HISTORY.
- 940 EUROPE.
- 950 ASIA.
- 960 AFRICA.
- 970 NORTH AMERICA.
- 980 SOUTH AMERICA.
- 990 OCEANICA AND POLAR REGIONS.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS 123

500 NATURAL SCIENC GENERAL.

- WARD (Lester Frank) *Glimpses of the cosmos.* By L. F. Ward. (Comprising his minor contributions now republished, together with biographical and historical sketches of all his writings.) . . . [With plates.] *New York and London*, 1915. 8vo. *In progress.* R 40564
4. Period, 1885-1893.—1915.

540 NATURAL SCIENCE: CHEMISTRY.

- THORPE (Sir Thomas Edward) *The Right Honourable Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe.* . . . A biographical sketch. [With portrait.] *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. viii, 207. R 41157

570 NATURAL SCIENCE: ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

- BEUCHAT (Henri) *Manuel d'archéologie américaine. Amérique pré-historique-civilisations disparues.* . . . Préface par . . . H. Vignaud. . . . [With folding tables and illustrations.] *Paris*, 1912. 8vo, pp. xli, 773. R 41967

- BREUIL (Henri) *La Pileta à Benaöjan, Malaga, Espagne.* Par . . . H. Breuil . . . H. Obermaier . . . et Willoughby Verner. [With plates and illustrations.] [Institut de Paléontologie Humaine. Peintures et Gravures Murales des Cavernes Paléolithiques.] *Monaco*, 1915. 4to, pp. 65. R 35845

- CAMERON (A. A.) *A note on the Palaungs of the Kodaung hill tracts of the Mongmit State.* [With illustrations.] *Rangoon*, 1912. 8vo, pp. 61. R 41303

- CATLIN (George) *Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians.* By G. Catlin. Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39. . . . With . . . illustrations . . . engraved from his original paintings. *London*, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo. R 41399

- CROOKE (William) *The tribes and castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.* [With plates.] *Calcutta*, 1896. 4 vols. 8vo. R 41280

- ELLIOTT (George Francis Scott) *Prehistoric man and his story: a sketch of the history of mankind from the earliest times.* . . . With . . . illustrations & diagrams. [Story Library.] *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. 398. R 41118

- HAVEMEYER (Loomis) *The drama of savage peoples.* *New Haven, Conn.*, 1916. 8vo, pp. viii, 274. R 41946

- INDIA. *Ethnographical survey of India.* . . . *Rangoon*, 1909-10. 3 vols. 8vo. R 41297

Burma.

2. Carrapiett (W. J. S.) *The Salons.*—1909.

3. Jamieson (E.) *Description of habits and customs of the Muhsös, black and red, also known as Lahus.*—1909.

4. Lewis (C. C.) *The tribes of Burma.*—1910.

570 NATURAL SCIENCE: ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

KOCHER (Auguste) De la criminalité chez les Arabes au point de vue de la pratique médico-judiciaire en Algérie. . . . [Laboratoire de Médecine Légale de la Faculté de Lyon.] *Paris*, 1884. 8vo, pp. 244.
R 40527

PEARL (Raymond) Modes of research in genetics. *New York*, 1915. 8vo, pp. vii, 182. R 41093

PITTARD (Eugène) Les peuples des Balkans. Esquisses anthropologiques. Avec . . . cartes et . . . figures. *Paris, Neuchâtel*, [1917?]. 8vo, pp. 142. R 41964

PLAYFAIR (A.) The Garos. . . . With an introduction by Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I. . . . Published under the orders of the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. With illustrations and maps. *London*, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi, 172. R 41772

RISLEY (Herbert Hope) The tribes and castes of Bengal. . . . Anthropometric data. *Calcutta*, 1891. 2 vols. 8vo. R 41276

SIERRA LEONE. Anthropological report on Sierra Leone. By Northcote W. Thomas. . . . Government Anthropologist. *London*, 1916. 2 vols. 8vo. R 41097

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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS

IT is not often that one is able to report the discovery of fragments of Greek literature in the Bible; so that the student of Biblical origins will have an especial interest in the present number of the "BULLETIN," and in Dr. Rendel Harris's detection of passages from the Greek tragedians in the third book of the Maccabees. One of these extracts appears to come from an unknown author, and it is probable that the mine which Dr. Harris has opened may have more treasures in it than have fallen to the lot of the first excavator, for he sometimes leaves more than he takes.

FRAG-
MENTS OF
GREEK LIT-
ERATURE
IN THE
BIBLE.

Under the title "The Synopsis of Christian Doctrine in the Fourth Century" we print a translation, with critical apparatus, by Dr. Mingana, of an unpublished text embodying the theological views of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Since almost all the writings of this illustrious Father of the Church were destroyed in consequence of the charges of doctrinal error brought against him soon after his death, this interesting contribution to the patristics of what may be described as the golden age of Christianity, cannot fail to be of interest to our readers.

THEODORE
OF MOP-
SUESTIA.

The treatise partakes of the character of a catechism, with questions and answers on all the important points of Christian dogma, giving in a succinct form the gist of all that was necessary for salvation with regard to dogmatic and moral doctrine. It may be said that Theodore's authority was so great in the fourth to the fourteenth century that from the Euphrates to Manchuria the outcome of every discussion could be summarised as follows: "Theodorus loquitur causa finitur".

In a previous issue of the "BULLETIN" (Vol. 4, No. 1, April-August, 1917, p. 123) the Rev. D. P. Buckle called attention to the importance of the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library

for the study of Christian Egypt. The interest of Coptic writers was not restricted, however, to their own country. Councils and martyrdoms gave them an opportunity of throwing light on controversies and persecutions in other lands. In connection with the latter subject we hope in the next issue to reproduce in facsimile four pages of the Rylands Coptic MS. No. 94, showing how the homily of Basil the Great, on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste was partly enlarged and partly misunderstood by a Coptic writer, and how the Egyptian Version is an intermediate step between the original and simplest narrative and the highly developed accounts given in the earliest printed "Gesta," in the collections of Vincentius Bellovacensis (1473), Mombricitus (1483), Petrus de Natalibus (1519), and in the extremely extended story of Lipomanus (1581). These accounts will be compared with what seems to be their Greek source, as published by Abicht (in "Archiv. f. Slav. Phil.," vol. 18, pp. 190-2) and by Gebhardt in his "Acta martyrum selecta". The gradual growth of the story will be further illustrated by the "Commentarius prævius" and the other narratives given in the Bollandist "Acta Sanctorum".

THE FORTY
MARTYRS
OF
SEBASTE.

Professor W. M. Lindsay of St. Andrews sends an interesting note regarding the Rylands Greek Papyri, No. 61, which gives to the fragment a new interest. The papyrus referred to is a fragment of Cicero's "Second Speech against Catiline," and is a welcome novelty by reason of the fact that Cicero papyri are of rare occurrence, although by a stroke of bad luck the passages covered in this example happen to be deficient in points of textual interest. It is described in the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library," vol. 1, pp. 193-4, and we cannot do better than reproduce the paragraph in which Professor A. S. Hunt describes it.

A
BILINGUAL
PAPYRUS
OF CICERO.

"This manuscript which was in book form, was not of the ordinary kind, but was designed for a Greek-speaking reader imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language. The Latin words are arranged singly or in small groups in one column, and a parallel column gives the literal equivalents in Greek. But though of the nature of a school-book, and no example of calligraphy, the papyrus is not in an unpractised hand. Both the Latin original and the Greek rendering were written by one person, who used the brown ink characteristic of

the Byzantine period. The Latin script is in the mixed uncial style. . . . The Greek is in irregular uncials also with some cursive admixture. Their appearance suggests the end of the fourth or the fifth century, and the papyrus may be assigned with probability to the period from about 400 to 450 A.D. It may therefore claim to be the oldest authority for this speech of Cicero by some four centuries."

Professor Lindsay remarks that: "The famous Philoxenus Glossary" (see his interesting articles in the "Classical Review," vol. 31, pp. 158 and 188) "was compiled partly from a bilingual text of Cicero's 'Second Speech against Catiline'. Its home seems to have been Italy. Your papyrus shows that the same bilingual text was used in Egypt in the fifth century. That strongly suggests that this speech had been published with a Greek word-for-word translation as a school-book, and was used for teaching Latin in Greek-speaking countries and Greek in Latin-speaking countries, which puts your papyrus fragment in a new light."

At the deferred sale of the Medici Archives, which took place in May last, we were fortunate in being able to acquire for the library a quantity of briefs, bulls, letters, and other interesting and apparently unexplored papers relating to property, lawsuits, and other family affairs of the Medici. It may be of interest to readers to be reminded that, originally, the sale was fixed to take place on four days in the early part of February, 1918, but at the last moment the Italian Government stepped in, the sale was postponed, and it was not until the Italian authorities had extracted from the collection all such documents as they considered to be of national importance that the sale was sanctioned.

THE
MEDICI
ARCHIVES.

The sale catalogue was prepared by Mr. Royall Tyler, and will remain a model of its kind, and an indispensable book of reference about the Medici.

A comparison of the original catalogue with the revised edition, prepared for the deferred sale, will reveal the fact that no fewer than 174 of the most interesting lots were withdrawn to form part of the permanent archives of Italy. We are glad to learn, however, that the remaining series of letters of Lorenzo de' Medici were sold in one lot, and that the collection of ledgers, account books, and memoranda of the Medici family as bankers and merchants are

also to be kept together in this country, both lots having been acquired by Mr. Gordon Selfridge.

The centenary of what is known as "The Peterloo Massacre" was commemorated in Manchester on Saturday the 16th of August. The tragic event so marked occurred in St. Peter's Fields, at that time an open space, which is now covered by modern buildings including the Free Trade Hall, where a great throng of people numbering about 60,000, principally operatives of Manchester and the outlying districts of Middleton, Royton, Chadderton, Rochdale, Saddleworth, Oldham, Stockport, and Bury assembled under the chairmanship of Thomas Hunt, better known as "Orator Hunt," one of the leading figures in the Reform agitation, to demand a radical reform of Parliament, or, to be more exact, "to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining reform of the Commons House of Parliament". When the open space was packed with this dense mass of men and women, some carrying flags and banners, others carrying children, they were suddenly, without warning and without having given the least provocation, charged by the Manchester and Cheshire Yeomanry, and the 15th Hussars, and trampled upon and sabred by the horsemen, with the result that within ten minutes the space was cleared, except for the dying and injured victims left lying in heaps. A careful investigation later by the Relief Committee put the casualties at eleven killed and nearly 600 wounded.

THE
PETERLOO
MASSACRE.

The occasion was further marked by the publication of "The Story of Peterloo" from the pen of Mr. F. A. Bruton, a pre-print of the article which appears elsewhere in the present issue of the BULLETIN, for which it was written. It is an exceedingly clear and connected narrative, based on all the contemporary evidence of the often distorted and little understood event, the publication of which has already led to interesting developments, four of which we may briefly mention :—

(1) Lord Sheffield has written to ask that Bishop Stanley's account of Peterloo, which was lithographed for private circulation only, in 1819, and has never been published, should now be made public, enclosing a cheque towards the expenses of the issue. In accordance with his wish, Stanley's valuable account will be supplemented by that written by Sir William Jolliffe, afterwards Lord Hylton, and the

MS. account left by Mr. J. B. Smith, afterwards first Chairman of the Anti-Corn Law League. These three narratives are shortly to be edited by Mr. Bruton for the Manchester University Press under the title : "Three accounts of Peterloo by Eye-witnesses".

(2) One of the most interesting narratives of Peterloo is one entitled : "An impartial narrative of the melancholy occurrences, etc.," issued at the time of the catastrophe. It was anonymous, and the authorship has remained a mystery for a hundred years. The writer of "The Story of Peterloo" hazarded a guess at the authorship on page 25 of his pamphlet (see p. 275). He there conjectured that it may have been written by Mr. J. Smith, who reported for the "Liverpool Mercury". He has since received a communication from Lady Durning-Lawrence stating that his conjecture was correct, i.e. that the "Impartial narrative" was written by Mr. J. Smith, and that this Mr. J. Smith was her father, and is identical with the Mr. J. B. Smith mentioned earlier in the same passage. Thus a mystery of a century's standing is satisfactorily cleared up.

(3) The Library has been fortunate in being able to acquire a small octavo account-book, leather bound, which seems to have been an official record of the casualties at Peterloo which were dealt with by one of the Relief Committees. It contains details of the names, addresses, and injuries of 347 individuals, particulars of the successive grants made to them by one committee, and references to the grants made by another committee (possibly two others).

The details given are corroborative of many of the statements in Mr. Bruton's "Story". Thus : the cases include those of Elizabeth Gaunt (mentioned on pp. 274, and 275), of Mrs. Fildes (on p. 274), of Thomas Radford (on pp. 285, 291, and 294). There are references to the loose timber (see pp. 269, 284, and 294), the injuries to special constables (see p. 280), the fight near the Friends' Meeting House (see pp. 284 and 289), the oak trees growing near that building (see pp. 269, 294), the white hat as a symbol of Radicalism (see p. 273), the fear of losing employment evinced by the wounded (see p. 291), the infantry intercepting fugitives (see p. 290), the child killed by a trooper in Cooper Street (see p. 277), and so on. The sum total voted by this committee appears to have been £687 ; it must be remembered, however, that the sum of £3000 mentioned on p. 291 as having been subscribed may have been used partly for legal expenses.

Since Mr. Bruton's "Story" was written, and since this manuscript account book came to light, Mr. Bruton has discovered a printed Report of the Relief Committee differing from the manuscript copy, in which 560 cases are described and the amount raised to date is given as £3408 1s. 8d., and pronounced as inadequate for 600 people. It also gives the amount spent on legal expenses as £1077.

(4) A well-known firm, whose offices stand on the site of Peterloo, have decided to mark the centenary of the event by placing a commemorative tablet on the walls of the building.

The appeal which we made in our last issue for further contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, THE LOUVAIN LIBRARY. which has been in process of formation, here in Manchester, since December, 1914, has met with the same encouraging response as was accorded to our earlier requests for help. In proof of this statement it needs only to be pointed out that since the publication of our last report upwards of 9000 additional volumes have been sent in, whereby the total number of volumes actually received and registered is increased to 21,000. Even this does not complete the record, for it does not take into account many other definite offers of help which have still to materialize, and several large consignments of books at present in course of transit from such distant parts of the Empire as Bombay, Sydney, and Toronto, which together will further swell the total by many thousands of volumes.

It will be of interest to our readers, especially to those whose names figure in the lists of contributors, to learn that the Rector of the University (Monsignor P. Ladeuze) writing under date of the 21st of September in the name of his Alma Mater, at the conclusion of the first session of its revival, refers in terms of gratitude and appreciation to what has been accomplished already with the help of the many contributors and institutions, who with great promptitude and generosity supported our scheme of reconstruction.

Readers will also learn with pleasure of the success which has attended the University since its reopening in January last. No less than 3200 students have been in attendance, and Monsignor Ladeuze anticipates a still larger number of entries at the opening of the new session in November. It is not surprising, however, to learn that, in the absence of any properly equipped library, the work of the students has been somewhat hampered. Fortunately that want is

likely to be met, at least in part, during the ensuing session, since temporary premises have been secured, to serve as a library and reading-room, pending the erection of the new library building. It will be our privilege to assist in the equipment of the shelves, and to that end we are at present making arrangements for the dispatch to Louvain of the first consignment of the new library, consisting of 5000 volumes, with an accompanying catalogue. Other consignments will follow as they can be made ready for shipment.

There are still many of our readers, we feel sure, who would welcome an opportunity of being associated with this practical expression of sympathy with the authorities of the University, and through them of gratitude to the Nation who sacrificed all but honour to preserve her own independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe by nullifying the invader's plans. Further gifts either of books or money are invited, and may be sent to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In the case of books we would ask prospective donors to be good enough, in the first instance, to submit a list of their proposed gifts, so as to obviate unnecessary duplication.

Elsewhere in these pages we print a supplementary list of contributors, to whom we take this opportunity of offering our grateful thanks for their welcome and generous co-operation.

The following series (the eighteenth) of public lectures has been arranged for the ensuing session. They will be given, as usual, in the lecture hall of the library.

PUBLIC
LECTURES.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 24th September, 1919. "English Assyriology during the War." By Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., D.D., etc., Sometime Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 8th October, 1919. "The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus." By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 22nd October, 1919. "The Story of Peterloo." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By F. A. Bruton, M.A., of the Manchester Grammar School.

Wednesday, 12th November, 1919. "Recent Tendencies in European Poetry." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th December, 1919. "The Present Position of Papyrology." By Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., F.B.A., etc., Professor of Papyrology in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1920. "History and Ethnology." By W. H. R. Rivers, M.A., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 11th February, 1920. "The 'Mayflower' and her Voyages." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 10th March, 1920. "On Some Aspect of the Reign of Edward III." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediæval and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th April, 1920. "Shakespeare's 'Lear': A Moral Problem Dramatised." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Sometime Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Friday, 16th April, 1920. "Fiction as the Experimental Side of Human Philosophy." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., etc., etc.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

"Two Lectures (Biblical and Devotional) for Ministers and Others." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 4th November, 1919. "Spikenard and Prophecy."

Tuesday, 2nd March, 1920. "The Hart and the Waterbrooks."

METRICAL FRAGMENTS IN III MACCABEES.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., ETC.

IN the fifth chapter of the *Third Book of Maccabees*, where the story, more or less apocryphal, is told of the attempts made by Ptolemy Philopator to destroy the Egyptian Jews in the Hippodrome at Alexandria, and of the various Divine interpositions by which their fate is averted, the religious novelist comes to the point where the tyrant, filled with rage, begins to threaten his unfortunate underlings. He is especially mad with Hermon, the keeper of his elephants, who had been ordered to intoxicate the beasts with wine and frankincense, and then turn them on the unfortunate Jews that they might be trampled to death. The plan had miscarried in various ways through miraculous intervention; amongst other things, the tyrant overslept himself, and lost the memory of what he had ordered: and in the end a Dioscuric epiphany, similar to what occurred in the *Second Book of Maccabees*, in the story of Heliodorus, relieved the strain on the Jews by turning the elephants on the persecutors.

The language in which the tyrant addresses the unfortunate elephantarch is given as follows in the text of Swete's Septuagint:—

- 30 Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθείσιν πληρωθεὶς βαρεῖ χόλῳ
διὰ τὸ περὶ τούτων προνοία Θεοῦ διεσκεδάσθαι
πάν αὐτοῦ νόημα, ἐνατενίσας μετὰ ἀπειλῆς εἶπεν·
- 31 Ὅσοι γονεῖς παρήσαν ἢ παίδων γόνοι, τήνδε
θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκεύασαν δαψιλῇ θοῖναν
ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων, ἐμοὶ καὶ προγόνους ἐμοῖς
ἀποδεδειγμένων ὀλοσχερῇ βέβαιαν πίστιν
ἐξοχῶς Ἰουδαίων.

It need hardly be said that this is untranslatable Greek and an impossible text. Swete prints from the Alexandrian MS., because this was the only uncial MS. available in facsimile, and gives notes from the Codex Venetus, which is equally an uncial (though the Oxford editors, Holmes and Parsons, did not know it to be such) and a

far better text. It is quite clear that a new edition of this and other Maccabee texts will have to be produced. Even with the substitution or assistance of the Codex Venetus, the text is not as good as can be obtained from the cursive MSS., and we have often a better text in Holmes and Parsons than in Swete. So we are not yet very far on in the determination of the text of the LXX. Let us, then, examine the text as printed by Swete, and see if we can throw any light upon it. The difficulty of translation begins with the speech of the tyrant : against this I had noted that the first words were an iambic trimeter, and this is also observed by Emmet in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, as follows : "The first part of the verse (v. 31) is an iambic, apparently 'an unidentified quotation from a poet' : we must not, however, edit the line in the form given above, but as in Holmes and Parsons,

Εἰ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἡ παίδων γόνοι (Ι. γοναί)

and then, with the same authorities, making one small correction (ἐσκέυασ' ἄν for ἐσκέυασαν ἄν), we may continue the narration

τήνδε [οἷ τουσδε] θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκέυασ' ἄν δαψιλῇ
θοῖναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων.

i.e. "If parents or family of yours had been here, I would have made this (or those) into a luxurious banquet for wild beasts, instead of the innocent Jews."

But here a difficulty arises : the elephants were not going to eat the Jews, as if they were lions' meat or leopards' ; they would, at the worst, trample them to death. So the suggestion arises as to whether the quotation from the unknown poet may not have gone further. The speech of the tyrant is certainly very rhythmic, and if he was talking prose, he was not aware of the fact. He very seldom talks ordinary prose, though he manages to present it in official documents. Let us see whether the speech of Ptolemy Philopator can be brought into verse form, without serious alteration of the text. Our first attempt to find the line divisions results as follows :—

Εἰ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἡ παίδων γόνοι,
Τήνδε θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκέυασ' ἄν
Δαψιλῇ θοίνην ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων,
'Εμοὶ προγόνοις τ' ἐμοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένων,
'Ολοσχερῇ βεβαίαν πίστιν ἔξοχῶς
'Ιουδαίων.

It will require a very modest array of changes to make this metrical. It is evident that we are dealing with a genuine tragic fragment, capable of restoration with more or less of exactness. We will leave the final form of the restored passage to a later point in the argument.

We now proceed to inquire (i) whether it is possible to identify the author or the work from whom the Hellenistic author of the *Third Book of Maccabees* has pilfered ; (ii) whether there are any other metrical fragments in the rest of the book.

We begin with a tentative solution of the first of these points.

What we have before us is a genuine piece of Greek verse, the language of a tyrant put into the mouth of a tyrant : is it possible to identify the speaker ?

The author of *Third Maccabees* definitely compares Ptolemy Philopator to Phalaris, the monster of the ancient world, whom Cicero describes as *crudelissimus omnium Tyrannorum*, e.g. v. 20 : "The King with a rage more fierce than Phalaris said that (the Jews) might thank his sleep for their day's respite".

v. 42. "On this day the King, a Phalaris in all respects, was filled with madness, etc."

We notice that our assumed verses (v. 31) come between the two references to Phalaris, and the suggestion arises that they may be taken from some Greek poem, of which Phalaris is the central figure. The argument would hold, if our restoration of all the verses except the first should be deemed unsatisfactory : the opening verse by itself would put in a claim not only for a tragic origin, but for an origin in a play where Phalaris was a leading figure.

Leaving this point with its proper indication of uncertainty, let us see if we can get any further support for our thesis. We are assuming the existence of a Greek play in which Phalaris is the leading figure, but of which we do not appear to have any notice in the Greek literature. Our only Phalaris literature is the fictitious correspondence which Bentley made himself immortal in analysing, and the supposed speeches of the tyrant in Lucian. It is precisely from this apocryphal literature that we learn of the existence of tragedies in which Phalaris figures. It is true that they are made out to be contemporary attacks on Phalaris, and Bentley has shown that such tragedies could not have existed at that time of day, and that the correspondence itself is the artificial product of the Hellenistic age : but the references

are at least sufficient to prove the existence of Greek tragedy in which Phalaris figures.

For example, in Ep. 63 addressed to Aristolochus, we have the following allusions to tragedy of the order indicated above : I quote for convenience from Francklin's translation (a very free and easy rendering, which will, however, serve our purpose) :—

"If, because I freely pardoned Stesichorus, whom I had taken prisoner, *you think that you may safely write tragedies against me*, believing I must of course treat all poets with the same lenity, you are greatly mistaken ; for I do by no means admire all poets, but good ones only : nor forgive all enemies, but (only) the most brave and honourable : whilst you, who are both a vile poet and a contemptible enemy, would most impudently set yourself on a level with Stesichorus in parts and courage. But you shall quickly discern the difference ; *not because you have aspersed me in your verses* (for I were the lowest of mankind if such trash could any ways affect me), but for daring to think yourself of the same honour and regard as Stesichorus." The translation is, as we said, a very free one ; the "trash" referred to is in the original *δράματα* !

Here the false epistle is an expansion of the theme which tradition furnished, that Phalaris the tyrant forgave Stesichorus who had written verses against him. According to the author of the Epistles, Aristolochus as well as Stesichorus had been guilty of anti-Phalaris tragedies. Tragedy against Phalaris is assumed as a theme by the epistolographer.

The same thing occurs again in Ep. 97, as follows :—

TO LYSINUS.

"Will there never, then, O Lysinus, be an end to thy rashness ? O thou most foolish of men ; at thirty years of age to have no more regard to thyself than thus to provoke an enemy so much thy superior ; *still continuing to write tragedies* (*ἔπη καὶ τραγῳδίας*) *against me*, as if such things could give me the least uneasiness ! But take heed to thyself of an end more cruel *than any tragedy* thou couldst ever invent."

Here again the existence of tragedy in which Phalaris is the central figure is assumed ; we may add the name of Lysinus to those of Aristolochus and Stesichorus.

The author of the Epistles of Phalaris is then in evidence for the existence of anti-Phalaris tragedies. They are constantly used as motives in his somewhat jejune compositions.

Let us, then, assume that the author of *III Maccabees* had access to such a tragedy, and borrowed from it. Can we find out anything more about the contents? If we look more closely at the text of the fifth chapter of *III Maccabees*, we shall see in the critical apparatus an extraordinary expansion on the part of one of the cursive MSS. (No. 64) at the end of the twenty-ninth verse. It runs as follows:—

“While King Ptolemy was now recognising, under the influence of the sting of Divine Providence, that he ought to pity the Jewish nation, and was eager for the future to release them, and was counselled thereto by the marvels which had occurred in their case, the company of his friends and princes were displeased and took it very ill. And one of the most honourable among them, named Hermon, who was also a foster-brother (σύντροφος) of the King, ventured to say: Did you not, O King, make the plot against them from the first in these particulars? Take and read what you formerly wrote about them. For, with a wise foresight against their becoming naturally hostile behind our backs through their agreement with our adversaries, on that account you made at the first those decrees which you do not now recognise, and which you seek to subvert. By no means, O King: but let us carry out the vote which was so well brought forward against them, and by bringing on the elephants let us fulfil the intention (πρόθεσιν) which you had formed against them from the first.”

It is usual to discard all of this as a scribe's gloss, and certainly it presents, at first glance, a good deal of difficulty. A new Hermon is introduced, apparently not the keeper of the elephants, but a foster-brother and intimate friend of the King. We have already had many references to Hermon in the previous chapter, and now we are told of some one, Hermon was his name, who gives the King very frank advice and further encouragement in the persecution of the Jews. It looks as if his name ought not to be Hermon at all. But then, at the close of his speech, he says, “Let *us* bring on the elephants”; which looks as if it were the very same Hermon. In that case, in spite of the statement that Hermon was the name of the speaker, the story ought to be genuine. Its omission is easily accounted for: the sentence just before

had ended with the word *πρόθεσιν*; the sentence which Cod. 64 adds *ends with the same word*. Then it might easily happen that the added matter was dropped by an error of the eye.

But here is another extraordinary bit of evidence in favour of the restoration of the missing matter; Hermon is here said to be a foster-brother of the King. If we look a little further forward in the text we find that in v. 32 the King says that "if it had not been that I love you *as my foster-brother* (*διὰ τὴν τῆς συντροφείας στοργήν*), and because of the exigencies of the situation, you should have paid for this speech with your life" (reading *συντροφείας* for *συστροφείας* of the Alexandrian MS.).

Here the explanation is required that Hermon was foster-brother of the King, and we see why it occurs as a statement three verses earlier. Shall we not then be justified, for the reasons set forth, in regarding the expansion of the cursive MS. No. 64 as a part of the true text? It illuminates and clears the context, and its omission is palæographically explicable. We shall still be in difficulty with the duality of Hermon. Why should the keeper of the elephants in the first part of the story become the King's foster-brother at the end of it, and almost his prime minister? There is not, however, a single person mentioned in the story among the royal party except Hermon. The explanation probably lies in the sources which *III Maccabees* is using: the elephants are certainly not a part of the tragedy on which he was working; he has lugged them in by their broad ears, and set Hermon, who was in the tragedy, to look after them. Later on he wanted Hermon for another purpose, the modification of the King's rage, and the transfer of responsibility from his heavily weighted shoulders: the theme is constant in the Phalaris literature. Probably, then, Hermon was in the original tragedy, and figured there as the foster-brother and evil-counsellor of the tyrant.

We have now gone quite far enough into the field of conjecture, and had better return to our text and see if we can pick up any more iambs from the missing tragedy or from Greek literature elsewhere. In this quest I shall have the assistance of my friends T. R. Glover and A. B. Cook. They know a piece of a trimeter when they see it. When we read the composition with our eyes open to the possibility of extracts and refrains from Greek tragedy, we find to our surprise a multitude of expressions which appear to be metrical

in form and the product of metrical necessity. Suppose we turn to the fourth chapter: we stumble almost at once on such sequences or possible restorations as

IV. 4.

— — ἀδελον τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν,
 — — — τὴν δυσάθλιον ἐξαποστολὴν,

IV. 6.

αἱ δ' ἀρτὶ γαμικὴν πρὸς βίου κοινωνίαν
 ὑπεληλυθυῖαι παστάδας νεανίδες,
 [οἰκτροὺς] μετέβαλον ἀντὶ τέρψεως γούους.
 κόνει δὲ [πλοκάμους] μυροβρεχεῖς πεφυρμέναι,
 [τοὺς βοστρύχους] σκυλμοῖσιν ἐσπαραγμέναι,
 ἤγοντ' ἀκαλυφεῖς], ἀντὶ δ' ὑμεναίων [βόης]
 ἐξῆρχον, ὥς εἰς πλοῖα δεσμίαι βία,
 ἀντὶ στέφεων δὲ περιπεπλεγμέναι βρόχους
 εἴλκοντο

 διῆγον ἐν θρηνοῖσιν ἡμέραν γάμων,
 ἥδη τὸν ἄδην παρὰ πόδας [θεώμενοι].
 σιδηροδεσμοῖσιν δὲ θηρίων τρόπον,
 ἤγοντ' ἀναγκαῖς¹ καὶ κατησφαλισμέναι
 πέδαισιν ἀρρήκτοισιν.²

Now if we consider this longer restored passage in relation to the text that is operated on, it becomes perfectly clear that a metrical narrative underlies the text of *Third Maccabees* in this chapter. There will, naturally, be some divergence in the work of restoration according to the taste of the critical artist; but the result will not vary widely from Mr. T. R. Glover's suggestions which are involved in the foregoing. The additions and modifications made in the text are slight. We are able, at certain points, to correct misunderstandings on the part of the Apocryphal writer, as, for example, when σκυλμοῖς has been read as σκύμνοις, and so an expletive was required as to the *heathen dogs*

¹ (cf. *Prom. Vinc.*, 6). ἀνάγκαις ταῖς δ' ἐνέζευγμαι τάλας.

² (cf. *Prom. Vinc.*, 108). ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις.

The passage is interesting because Milton also imitated it:—

In adamantine chains and penal fire
 Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

that tore the poor victims. (We note, however, that the cursive MSS. show that σκυλμοῖς is probably the true reading, in which case the expletive has come in by another route : in any case, it does not belong to the original document.) In certain cases, as in reading μεταβαλοῦσαι for μεταλαβοῦσαι we have the support of the cursive MSS., and so acquire a better basis for intelligent restoration. When we have settled the approximate metrical form from which the text of *III Maccabees*, verse 6, is derived, we conjecture, readily enough, that the original dramatic sequence that has been utilised is a scene from the capture of Troy, or some similar situation. Indeed, it must be Troy, for we read almost immediately, that the wretched Jews were sent off in ships, and the motive for this is plain enough historically. So we go back to verse 2 and restore Τρωσι for Ἰουδαίοις ; the text tells us that the Jews were to be sent off into banishment (εἰς ἐξαποστολήν) : one thinks at once of the Trojan women and the reason appears for the introduction of the wailing women and brides, with their torn hair and plucked off veils in the sixth verse. Let us see whether, from this point of visual advantage, we can now, with Mr. Glover's aid, restore the rest of the fourth verse. Here we may suggest as follows :—

ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν τινές
ἐν ὄμμασιν τ' ἔχοντες ἐξάλλους [τύχας]
καὶ τὴν ἄδηλον τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν
[νοοῦντες], ἔλεον εἶχον, ἐξαποστολήν
[κλαίοντες] αὐτῶν δάκρυσι τὴν δυσάθλιον.

The fifth verse describes the fate of the hapless old men who are hustled out of the city to the sea-shore, white-haired, bent double and stumbling as they go. The text of *III Maccabees* at this point is very uncertain, and the restoration is affected by the uncertainty : the cursive MSS. do not come to our aid as clearly as in some other cases. The following restoration suggests itself :—

γέρων
πολιᾷ πυκασθεῖς καπίκυφος ἤγετο
καὶ νωθρότητι τῶν ποδῶν ≍ — | ~ — ||
ὀρμῇ βιαίας ἀνατροπῆς αἰδοῦς δίχα.

In all probability, then, verses 2-9 of the chapter before us are an adaptation from a Greek play, dealing with the capture of Troy.

In the fifth chapter we come to the supposed Phalaris fragment ; whether we are right in the assumption of the existence of a Phalaris tragedy or not, it is quite evident that the chapter is strewn with metrical fragments, not necessarily the *disjecta membra* of a single poet, for the author is constantly dropping into metre, or employing half-disguised poetical language. We shall find, for instance, in the sixth chapter, that the pious Jew Eleazer, in a prayer which is conventional in form and Hebrew in substance, cannot avoid the rhythm of Greek poetry. He is in religion what "ancient Pistol" is in military life : he will be metrical or nothing (one wonders what Pistol would have perpetrated if he had prayed). Thus in VI. 12 we have an actual trimeter,

ὁ πᾶσαν ἀλκὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἔχων

and in VI. 32 we easily restore

ἀνέλαβον ᾧδὴν πατριον αἰνοῦντες θεόν.

A similar effect is produced in VII. 16,

παμμέλεσιν ὕμνοις εὐχαριστοῦντες θεῷ.

The manner of the artist is sufficiently disclosed.

Our chief interest, however, is with the fourth and fifth chapters, where we have long tragic extracts recovered ; the fourth chapter has been sufficiently explored ; we return to the fifth and to Phalaris. In this chapter, Mr. A. B. Cook points out the following tragic phrases that catch the eye.

V. 2. δαυιλέσι δράκεσι (perhaps the original had the sing. δαυιλεῖ δράκει¹)

— — | ~ πόματος ἀφθόνῳ χορηγιά

5. οἳ τ' ἐξιόντες τὰς ταιλαιπώρων χέρας (may be accidental)

6. σκέπης ἔρημοι

7. τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον — — | ~ — (accidental ?)

10. τοὺς ἀνηλεεῖς

11. ὕπνου μέρος

ἔστειλε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα — — | ~ —

12. — — | ~ — | — καὶ βαθεῖ κατεσχέθη

13. ὦραν προσημανθείσαν — | — — | ~ —

¹ Clearly not an ordinary prose word, for it is explained by Hesychius as τῆς παλάμης, τῆς χειρός.

13. — — | — — | τὸν εὐκατάλλακτον | — —
 14. — — | ὁ πρὸς ταῖς κλήσεσιν τεταγμένος
 14. — — | — — | — ἀθρόους κλητοὺς ἰδῶν
 ἔνυξέ
 20. τὴν ὁμότητα χεῖρον' ἐσχηκὼς ἔφη (accidental ?)
 21. ὁμοῦ συναινέσαντες εἰς οἶκον | — —
 22. τὸ μηχανᾶσθαι τοῖς τάλαιπώροις | — —
 24. ἡθροιστο πρὸς τὴν — | — — | θεωρίαν
 26. — — | — οὐπω δ' ἡλίου — — | — —
 βολαὶ κατεσπείροντο καὶ — — | — —
 *Ερμων παραστὰς — | — — | τὴν ἔξοδον
 28. — — | — πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ
 28. — — | — — | — πρὶν μεμηχανημένον
 30. — — | — — | — — | — πληρωθεὶς χόλῳ
 30. θεοῦ προνοία — | — — | — — | — —
 30. διασκεδάσθαι πᾶν τὸ — | — — | — —
 31. The Phalaris passage, which Mr. Cook restores as follows :—

εἴ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γοναί
 τήνδ' ἀγρίαις ἂν δαψιλῇ θοίνην [γνάθοις]
 ἐσκέυασ' ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων ἐμοί
 καὶ τοῖσι προγόνοις ἀποδεδειγμένων ἀεὶ
 πίστιν βέβαιαν ἐξοχῶς — — | — —

and notes that ἀγρίαις γνάθοις is found in Æsch., *Prom. vinct.*, 368 and *Chæph.*, 280. 'Ολοσχερῇ is evidently a late word which may be discarded, and for the order of the words note that one cursive MS. actually shows πίστιν βέβαιαν πίστιν (*sic*). If the Phalaris origin of the fragment were established, it might be proper to restore τοῦδε in the second line, sc. τοῦ ταύρου.

32. ἀπροσδόκητον κάπικίνδυνον | — —
 33. καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ — | — — | συνεστάλη
 42. — — | — — | — θηρίων ἡκισμένους
 43. τὸν ἄβατον ἡμῖν ναὸν ἐν τάχει | — —
 45. — — | — — | — πόμασιν εὐωδესτάτοις
 47. — — | ἀτρώτῳ καρδία τε καὶ κόραις
 49. — — | — — | — ὑστάτην βίου ροπήν
 αὐτοῖς ἐκείνην — | — — | — — | — —
 49. — — | ἐς οἶκτον καὶ γόους — — | — —

49. γονεῖς τέκνοισι, μητέρες νεάνισιν
 ἔτεραι νεογνὰ - | - πρὸς μαστοὺς βρέφη
 ἔλκοντα - | - | - τελευταῖον γάλα
 51. - - | - ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις ἄδου | - -

The foregoing metrical fragments show conclusively that the author of *III Maccabees* is familiar with the Greek tragic literature. Just as in the previous chapter we can see one particular play upon which he has been drawing. But this time it cannot be the *Fall of Troy* that furnished the material: it appears to be, as we stated at the first, a play in which Phalaris, or some similar tyrant, had the title-rôle, unless we find it a more suitable hypothesis that there was reference to Phalaris in some play which provoked the allusion.

Mr. Cook thinks it not impossible that Æschylus himself may be the author of the missing play in the fifth chapter. He reminds me that in 476 B.C., Hieron of Syracuse founded Ætna and invited Æschylus over for the occasion. He went there and he wrote the *Αἰτναῖαι*. Mt. Ætna had recently been in eruption and Æschylus gleaned on the spot the details of his description in *Prom. vinct.*, 351 ff. Again, Hieron heard of Æschylus' success with the *Persians* and invited the poet for a second time to Sicily. He went over and performed the play there between 472 and 468. Finally in 458 he left Athens, and withdrew to Gela where he lived till his death in 456. Cf. Athen., 402 c. :—

ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχυλος διάτριψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλαῖς
 κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν

Mr. Cook infers accordingly that Æschylus had every opportunity of becoming familiar with the fame of Phalaris.

There will, perhaps, be objections raised to this. For example, Ptolemy, posing as Phalaris, says in our recovered fragment that the Jews (*quaere* originally Himeræans or the like) had always been conspicuous for loyalty to himself and his *forbears*. It does not appear that Phalaris, according to the tradition, had any Sicilian forbears; perhaps, as a political adventurer, he had no predecessors at all. It does not, however, follow that the literary Hellenists who discoursed of Phalaris, or made him discourse of himself, took this view of his origin. Lucian, for example, makes Phalaris address the people of Delphi as one who belonged to the first families of Agrigentum, in which case a

reference to his predecessors would be quite in order. There is no need to decide the point of Phalaris' ancestors prematurely; in any case they are literary creations.

When we turn to the seventh chapter we find Ptolemy producing a rescript in the conventional manner on behalf of the Jews. He cannot, however, keep his hand off the poetry which he has worked over c. 4 and c. 5. The enemies of the Jews have dragged them down in bonds, pulling them by the hair, as if they were slaves (οἱ καὶ δεσμίους καταγαγόντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ σκύλμων ὡς ἀνδράποδα); the passage shows that we were right in reading σκύλμοις against the uncial MSS. In the next verse Ptolemy dismisses the persecutors of the Jews with their bare lives; μόγῃς τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῖς χαρίζομενοι which is an echo of ζῆν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐστερήθης ἄν or some similar arrangement of the previous text (e.g. σύ γ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἐστερήθης ἄν βίου). In the seventh verse he speaks of the constant goodwill of the Jews towards himself and his ancestors:—

τὴν τε τοῦ φίλου ἦν ἔχουσιν βεβαίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὖνοιαν,

which is again an adaptation of the versified story in c. V. So we see that the metrical section on Phalaris was a sort of *pièce de résistance* to the author of *III Maccabees*.

At this point another difficulty emerges; we have pointed out that in two of Mr. Glover's cases of metrical fragment the text has been influenced by the *Prometheus Vincitus*; and when we examine more closely the lines to which we have attached the name of Phalaris, we find that the versifier, whoever he was, has been imitating the *Hecuba* of Euripides. Compare the sentence

τῇνδε θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκεύασ' ἄν δαφιλῇ θοΐναν

with

θοΐναν ἀγρίων τιθέμενος θηρῶν

Eur., *Hec.*, 1073.

and the dependence of the former on the latter will be evident. This appears definitely to negative the idea that the Phalaris fragment can be due to Æschylus, as Mr. Cook suggested, unless it should be maintained that Euripides, whose diction is often Æschylean, got the phraseology of *Hec.*, 1073 from Æschylus. It is the work of a

centoist, probably of the Hellenistic age. This does not mean that the fragment with which we started our inquiry may not belong to a Phalaris drama ; only if it does, it is a late drama belonging to an artificial school.

Reviewing the preceding arguments, we may claim that a number of fragments from Greek tragic literature are embedded in the *Third Book of Maccabees*. Of these, the principal are a fragment dealing with the *Fall of Troy* and another fragment dealing with the *Tyranny of Phalaris*. There are also traces of the use of the *Prometheus Vinctus* and the *Hecuba*.

MEDIÆVAL FORGERS AND FORGERIES.¹

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THE criminal is with us throughout the ages. He is with us still, though in much reduced numbers, for the farther we go back in history the more criminals we find. In the middle ages the criminal class mustered strongly. Not only were mediæval criminals more numerous than their modern counterparts, but by reason of their numbers and importance they excited much more general sympathy than they do nowadays, and were as a rule dealt with by society in a more lenient manner. This was true both of crimes of violence and crimes of deceit. In these two typical classes of misdeeds homicides and forgeries easily took the first places. In the simple middle ages there were only two great classes of society which really counted. These were the knightly or warrior class, whose business in life was to fight, and the clerical or priestly class, whose special function was to pray, and which, besides its devotional duties, had the monopoly of all intellectual activities, clerical, literary, and academic. It is hardly going too far to say that homicide was the special misdeed of the former and forgery the particular peccadillo of the latter. Few self-respecting gentlemen passed through the hot season of youth without having perpetrated a homicide or two. It was almost the duty of the clerical class to forge. If it did not always commit culpable forgeries for its own particular interest, it forged, almost from a sense of duty, for the benefit of the society, the community, the house whose interests it represented.

To discourse upon the mediæval attitude to homicide would take me too far away from my present theme, which is mediæval forgers and forgeries. But I should wish to do justice to the particular type of misdoers with which I am now specially concerned. I would, therefore, suggest in passing that forgers were not the only class given to evil deeds in an age which, for all its lawlessness, presented also some

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th December, 1919.

of the purest and most exalted types of human excellence. But the saints were few and the sinners were many, and our chief concern will not be with the hardened criminal, who forged for his own personal gain, so much as with those who forged, so to say, as a habit, and whose acts suggested little or no criminality to contemporary opinion. For to mediæval eyes forgery in itself was hardly regarded as a crime. It was not, like homicide, punishable as such. Even in the good old dark ages, when you could atone for murder by paying down a lump sum proportioned to the wealth or social status of your victim, homicide as such was still considered to be a reprehensible offence. Forgery, on the other hand, hardly comes within the modest list of offences within which the mediæval mind limited its conception of a crime. It was natural to look indulgently on an offence to which so large a proportion of the educated population was addicted. To begin with, forgery was a misdeed that was necessarily limited to clerks, for few save clerks had the technical and linguistic skill necessary to forge documents. Accordingly, all practitioners of forgery had the "benefit of clergy," and could commit at least their first offence with the comparative impunity that followed from the sympathetic consideration of the church courts for the peccadillos of brother clerks and from their canonical restriction to punishments that did not involve either loss of life or limb. I do not, however, find that the church courts ever took any cognisance of forgery at all. The clerk addicted to forgery was in a doubly secure position.

Only some sorts of forgery were regarded by the law as criminal at all. The most notable of these were the forging the King's seal or the forging of a lord's seal by a member of his household. To appreciate the reason for this special condemnation of forging seals, we must remember that the seal was in the middle ages what a man's signature is nowadays. It was the normal way of authenticating his acts, and, provided always that he looked sharply after the custody of his seal, the most effective authentication in an age when everybody wrote very much alike, and when a great many men of substance wrote little or wrote with difficulty. But a knavish servant, familiar with the form and device of his lord's seal, might easily, with the exercise of a little ingenuity, procure the fabrication of a counterfeit to it. Hence the law and public opinion agreed to reprobate very severely what was looked upon as a scandalous breach of trust. Forgery of seals then

stood in the middle ages where forgery of signatures stands nowadays. It was the particular sort of forgery most dangerous to society and therefore a clearly criminal offence.

For similar reasons certain analogous acts of forgery were included with the employment of false seals among the offences specially worthy of condemnation. Conspicuous among these were counterfeiting the king's money, issuing false coin, and shearing or defacing good coin. Such misdeeds, along with the falsification of seals, constituted the *falsoneria*, the special sort of forgery, which Henry's II's Assize of Northampton of 1176 put with murder and robbery in the category of offences which a later period would have called felony. A simpler age saw no reason, even in these cases, to impose a special penalty on forgery as such. It seemed easier to include them in the comprehensive category of treason. Accordingly the law punished offenders of this class as traitors rather than as felons. Forgers of seals and counterfeiters of coin could therefore, if they were men, be hanged, drawn and quartered, as traitors, or, if they were women, burnt at the stake, this latter being the special punishment of the female convicted of treason. Whatever the offence was called, the punishment did not fail in austerity. It was one of the compensations for general laxity in dealing with criminals that the few classes of offence that seemed most heinous should be dealt with with cruel and unrelenting severity.

As time went on, further restrictions were gradually drawn. They were enough to show that, apart from particular cases, the way of the mediæval forger was comparatively easy. In a well-known law book of the reign of Edward I forgery, even of the restricted sort we have described, was put in the catalogue of crimes after treason and before homicide.¹ Other cases of forgery were, however, regarded as among the injuries which could be indifferently treated as a civil or a criminal offence. Even the forging of a seal, which was not the seal of the king or of the forger's lord, was only considered as inflicting an "atrocious injury". It might be adequately requited, at the worst with perpetual infamy, the pillory, and the tumbrill or cucking-stool, the same punishment that was inflicted on bakers or brewsters who used false weights and measures or on such as sold putrid or half-cooked food.²

¹ Fleta, pp. 52-3, "De crimine falsi".

² *Ibid.*, p. 63, "De personalibus actionibus civilibus".

Recorded cases show, however, that the law courts showed more severity in practice than the law books laid down in theory. Thus under Henry III a Jew, named Moses son of Brown, was rash enough to bring an action for debt against the prior and convent of Dunstaple in Bedfordshire, and to produce in court, as evidence of the debt, a deed which purported to be evidence of a loan which he had made to the convent. The king's justices examined the deed and pronounced it a forgery. It was shown in evidence that the seal was not the proper current seal; the canon, who had written every deed of the convent for forty years, swore that it did not come from his hands; the parchment had been washed, and new and clumsy sentences, some containing bad grammar, had been substituted for the original writing. In short the astute Moses had made use of another Dunstaple deed, deposited with him as a pledge, and had "cooked it up," rather unskilfully, to represent something quite different from what it was originally. His own examination proved far from satisfactory. The upshot was that the justices put Moses into the Tower, and it was expected that in due course he would have been hanged. However, his coreligionists bribed the king so heavily that the culprit was allowed to abjure the realm.¹

A Christian forger of the same period could get off much more lightly. There was a petty dispute between six modest heiresses and their husbands as to the division of their father's little estate of eighteen acres of land, in Warwickshire. One of the happy couples sought in addition to its modest share to prove its claim to a virgate of land which the husband said had been given to him, not on his marriage, as the other side averred, but eight years earlier on the simple condition of homage. "Then," so runs the record, "he produced a deed in proof of his claim. And the deed was viewed and it was seen to be false, because the wax of the seal was not three years old." It was, therefore, pronounced invalid and the claimant was kept in custody. Afterwards he came and acknowledged the forgery, and allowed that the virgate of land held by him ought to be added to the land to be divided." As no more is heard of him, this judicious recognition of guilt seems to have secured him his release, and in addition

¹ *Ann. Dunstaple*, pp. 66. Compare Cole's *Records*, p. 312. This was in 1221.

all that he had any right to get out of the estate.¹ Christians apparently were harder to hang than Jews, even when they had not the wherewithal to bribe their judges.

The lenient treatment of the forger, who did not by forging commit treason, was enhanced by the fact that he was not apparently indicted for making or using a forged seal with the intention of defrauding, but for producing a document so authenticated in a court of justice and basing his case upon it. The production in court of the forged seal corresponded to the intent to defraud of modern codes. There seems no evidence of a forger convicted or even indicted of a forgery as such. While the common law was hazy, the statute law was silent. It was not until the reign of Henry V that a civil remedy against forgery was given by statute. Under Elizabeth the law was stiffened up. The forger was to be fined, imprisoned, put in the pillory, to have his ears cut off, and his nostrils slit and to lose his land. This takes us back to the state of things under Edward I. At last, in the reign of Charles I, forgery at last became felony without benefit of clergy, and therefore a capital offence. It is a curious instance of the late middle ages being more easy going than Angevin times. Can clerical immunities have had this effect? Was it left for the Reformation to restore the offence to its old position? Was this one of the last surrenders of a sometime clerical privilege?

We get nearer the heart of our subject when we turn our backs on the law of forgery and proceed to interrogate the motives of the forgers. Here the field becomes at once infinitely wider, for the chief sorts of fabrication with which we shall have to deal are those whose origin was not specifically criminal in the legal, and often not even in the moral sense. Let us begin by distinguishing forged documents from the point of view of the motives of the forgers.

Many mediæval forgeries have their roots in nothing worse than vanity. A church or a family was anxious to prove its origin was more ancient than it really was, and to claim as its founder or ancestor one of the great names of old. If this reason inspired many forgeries in the case of Benedictine abbeys and noble families, whose real antiquity was quite respectable, it was still more strongly operative in the case of parvenu institutions or individuals who could boast of no such glorious past. Now Universities, which only began in the twelfth

¹ *Bracton's Note Book*, ed. Maitland, II, 715-16.

century, were such parvenu institutions. Yet by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they had acquired such a strong position that it seemed impossible to imagine that there had ever been a time when such noble foundations had had no existence, and unfilial on the part of their members not to seek out their roots in remote antiquity. Thus the University of Paris claimed Charles the Great as its founder, and Oxford, not to be outdone, found its origin in the schools of Alfred the Great. Cambridge went one better and traced itself back to King Arthur or to a Spanish prince named Cantaber, whose date is somewhat vaguely indicated. But this lie is, like the fame of Cambridge, post mediæval.

Family vanity was even more active a motive for forgery than institutional *esprit de corps*. The false pedigree-maker is still with us, and there have been few families that have arisen to sudden distinction or opulence that have not called in his services. Gross lies were told in genealogical matters in the middle ages, but the mediæval magnate had seldom the practical motives which in more modern times have induced the numerous new men, who have arrived, to buy pedigrees or armorial bearings from heralds or family portraits or even ancestral tombs from unscrupulous purveyors of mock antiquities. Accordingly it is rather in later centuries, when social conditions were more fluid than in the middle ages, that false genealogies became most common. It may perhaps be permitted to warn the fabricator of bogus pedigrees not to go further back in history than respectability requires. It is very difficult for even the greatest experts to concoct a specious mediæval pedigree. Let such as would attempt it, read and digest the diverting exposition by Mr. J. H. Round of the attempts of two different prosperous families, whose chief link of connection was the common enjoyment of the respectable name of Smith, to claim descent from a mythical standard-bearer of Richard Cœur de Lion.¹ But all these attempts, whether mediæval or modern, generally break down by reason of their being too interesting. They are too lavish in their imagination; they give too many picturesque details; they suggest the quickly recurring incidents of a melodrama or a novel, rather than the drab-coloured and unstimulating history which too commonly arises from the meticulous study of the authentic records of the past.

¹ J. H. Round, *Peerage and Pedigree*, II, 134-257.

Sometimes the mediæval forger forged from love of country rather than from the narrower sentiment of pride in house or family. "Reasons of State" have led governments—and that not in mediæval times only—to employ whole armies of skilful forgers to demonstrate their claims against an enemy or confuse him with false news. Philip the Fair instigated the fabrication of a papal bull designed to hold up to popular opprobrium the policy of Boniface VIII. A king of Naples caused the forgery of the bull of another pope which professed to separate Italy from the Empire. The appetite for forging grew upon what it fed on. Such experts in deceit naturally turned their skill to their own private profit. Thus we find that officials of a chancery were willing for a consideration to forge deeds in the interest of private persons as well as for the good of the state. There was a famous case where a ruffianly count of Armagnac bribed a papal official to draw up in his favour a papal bull authorising him to marry his own sister. Such a bull was authentic to all outward appearances; its defect was that it was entirely unauthorised by the authority from which it professed to emanate. There is hardly a state in Europe in which similar scandals did not occur from time to time.

Sometimes it remains a matter of controversy whether private enterprise or official deceit inspired famous forgeries. The most notorious mediæval forgery, the Donation of Constantine, the act by which Constantine retired to his new capital on the Bosphorus leaving Rome clear for the papal autocracy, enriched by the grant of imperial lands, was certainly devised in the interests of the papacy, though the time, place, and manner of its fabrication are far from being cleared up. But it was the private enterprise of some enemies of the Roman lawyers at Oxford that caused the concoction of a pretended bull, excluding doctors of civil law from all ecclesiastical benefices and prohibiting the teaching of Roman law in all countries which were under the customary law of feudalism. These forgers had the effrontery to publish this document during the lifetime of the very pope, Innocent IV, whose name they had taken in vain. In such cases professional zeal and personal gain worked hand in hand in the work of deception.

Some mediæval forgeries were almost entirely innocent of any intent to deceive, and many forged documents contain facts that are substantially correct. Pedantic love of the letter, and meticulous insistence on traditional forms combined to make forgery almost a laud-

able, altogether a necessary act. Of this type is the large class of copies which the custom of the early middle ages required should imitate in handwriting and technique the method of the originals, and which have often been so dexterously executed that it requires all the skill of the trained modern expert in diplomatic to distinguish between the copy, and the original. By the twelfth century these *copies figurées*, as the French call them, cease to have any importance. But lapse of time, war, neglect and fraud had caused the disappearance of many originals, so that the only evidence of a grant might well be a late copy, written out along with a large number of other charters in one of those valuable but puzzling collections called *cartularies*. When the establishment of orderly states with organised chanceries, or writing offices, arose, it was the interest of all individuals or communities, that had no original deeds to prove their rights, to seek from the king or prince an official confirmation of their possessions to which their claim had thus become questionable. This was the more so since many ancient estates were never, so far as we know, granted to their holders by any written instrument at all. They were what in England was called *folkland*, land held by the evidence of common knowledge, the witness of the people, as opposed to *bookland*, land held by virtue of a charter, or deed of grant. But an age which asked for title deeds grew suspicious of a title vouched by no written record. Just as our Edward I demanded in his writs of *quo warranto* that the lords of franchises should produce the warranty by which they held their liberties, so might any reigning prince well ask of a vassal or of an ancient house of religion their evidence that the lands they held really belonged to them. Now English law of the later middle ages provided an easy method of strengthening a doubtful title. On production of an old charter, it received from chancery confirmation under the great seal. But the officials of the chancery required the applicant for a charter of confirmation to produce the original of a charter that for some reason he wished to have confirmed. The process was so easy and so common that in the earliest tariff of chancery fees that is of record—it goes back to 1199—there was a much larger fee charged for a charter of confirmation than for a charter of grant.¹

¹ *Foedera*, I, 75-6. The "simple confirmation to which nothing new is added" seems to have cost something like one-ninth of the "new charter of feoffment of lands and liberties".

The result was that the chancery rolls, both charter and patent rolls, are full of charters of confirmation, reciting various charters which the king had inspected and which he confirmed and strengthened by his own authority. Charters of this sort are called charters of *inspeximus* in England and of *vidimus* in France. But the inspection or view demanded the production of the original that was to be recited. What was to be done if no original was forthcoming? It may have been that no charter had ever existed: that the grant had been oral or traditional. It may have been that the original had been lost, stolen, or destroyed. In some such cases there was no record of it: in most there would be a copy in some chartulary of later date. But the pedantic bureaucrat—government officials in the middle ages were generally pedantic—would not look at anything but an original. If then the original did not exist, it had to be made. The applicant for a charter then had to make a false original which he naturally strove to make as real to look at as his knowledge and skill allowed. He, therefore, copied out from his cartulary the document in a hand which seemed to him like the hand of other early documents in his possession. He cut off the seal from some document that he did not regard as being of any great use to him, and clapped it on to the charter that was to be produced before the chancery clerks. But mediæval man, though excessively ingenious, learned, and plausible, was almost altogether lacking in the rudiments of a historic sense. To him as to the modern peerage lawyer or to some sorts of modern politicians, who have sometimes begun life as peerage lawyers, history presented a flat, plane surface. He could not understand that each age has its particular forms and technicalities. He knew best those of his own age, and he imagined that what he found in the document he was most familiar with belonged to all time. He was a reformer too in his way and wanted his charter to be up to date. He was, therefore, in all innocence prone to copy out the technical forms in vogue in his own age. And the methods which innocence might adopt from sheer lack of historic sense, art and fraud, could also appropriate from entire ignorance of how things were really done in remote ages. In both sorts of cases the officials were easily taken in. The chancery clerk accepted with a light heart the documents set before him, and, having pocketed his big fees, cheerfully wrote them out in the confirmatory *inspeximus* and *vidimus*. The law courts were more

careful, but even these were liable to be deceived. It was only the clumsiest of practitioners, like Moses son of Brown, or the Warwickshire couple, whose adventures we have described, that could be easily convicted of their gross and palpable frauds. Thus the innocent falsifier runs into the fraudulent deceiver, and thus in dismissing the motives of the mediæval forger we have drifted imperceptibly into the process by which such falsifications were perpetrated. I would willingly dwell at length on the methods of mediæval falsification, both in their innocent and guilty aspects. But the subject is a big one, and all that can be done here is to make a few desultory remarks upon it.

There was no lack of skill and cunning in the mediæval forger. He knew how to erase the writing from ancient parchments and rewrite them in a feigned archaic hand. He showed marvellous intelligence in the manipulation of authentic seals and in their transference to surreptitious documents. He was clever enough to cut the wax, or lead, into two thin slices with a sharp knife and introduce new attachments of parchment, silk, or leather, so that it could be affixed to a new document, the sides being carefully heated up so that the two halves could again be fastened innocently together. If the original, after all his care, still remained suspicious, he could always conveniently lose it and produce a confessedly modern copy, plus evidence from those who had seen and handled the original. No doubt the English Chancery's insistence on the production of an original was based upon fraudulent attempts of this sort.

Just as in mediæval warfare the art of defending fortresses was superior to the art of attacking them, so in the sword play of wits, to which mediæval forgeries gave occasion, the art of fabricating spurious documents was more advanced than the critical gifts which the age possessed for detecting literary impostures. Yet we must not assume that there was no mediæval criticism, and that it was left to moderns to apply the rules of common sense and evidence to bring the forger to book. So early as the ninth century a knavish bishop of Le Mans was convicted of forging charters to the detriment of the rights of the abbey of Saint Calais. A letter of Innocent III explained to the chapter of Milan with admirable lucidity why a false bull, presented to them, was suspicious in style and handwriting, and the artful way in which a genuine seal had been adopted for the service of the spurious document. The pope's letter is quite a little treatise on the rules for

detecting forged documents.¹ Again in the early fourteenth century a French dominican, Bernard Gui, employed in the criticism of suspicious documents principles which, as M. Delisle says, no modern scholar would disavow. And a little later the letter in which Petrarch explained to the emperor Charles IV that there was no warranty for believing that Julius Cæsar and Nero had conferred any privileges on the house of Austria is a model essay on diplomatic criticism.

It must, however, be admitted that in our period the critics are the exceptions to the general rule of unthinking credulity. And there were good reasons for the ordinary man desiring to evade the responsibility of detecting forgeries, emanating from or patronised by persons of position. Such great persons, such powerful societies, were accomplices in falsification that it required a rare share of public spirit for a humble critic to expose too coarsely their methods of manipulating documents. There is no more respectable name among the archbishops of Canterbury than that of Lanfranc. He was a statesman, a scholar, a jurist, and a divine. At one time at least of his life he was enough of an enthusiast to forsake a promising worldly career as a lawyer to take the monastic vows in the poverty-stricken and austere house of Bec. Yet this eminent dignitary of the church did not scruple to facilitate his triumph over the rival metropolitan of York in 1072 by an elaborate series of forgeries,² which, it is suspected, must have been of his own fabrication. And the falsification was the less necessary, since justice seems to have been substantially on Lanfranc's side.

Thus forgery ran rampant all through the middle ages. It was largely undetected ; still more largely unpunished. A decent anonymity veils from our eyes the names of the best practitioners of the art, whether they forged from malice or tradition, or simply for forgery's sake, from that sheer delight in clever mystification which marks the forger who has a share of that artistic temperament which was assuredly not rare in the middle ages. There is no wonder that when the great scholars of the seventeenth century, the first men who, standing outside the middle ages, seriously attempted to understand mediæval conditions, had got well warmed to their work, they found themselves baffled and confused by the enormous proportion of forged, remade, confected, and

¹ Baluze, *Epistolæ Innocentii III*, 1, 101.

² H. Böhmer, *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury*, Leipzig, 1902.

otherwise mutilated documents with which they had to deal. The Protestants easily explained this by a reference to the blind days of popery and monkery ; but orthodox "religious," devoted sons of the Roman Church, experienced the same difficulties and suggested, though in different phrasing, the same answer to their questionings. Conspicuous among these was a Jesuit, Daniel van Papenbroeck, who had been for twenty years director of the great Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, a many-volumed collection of lives of saints, which the Bollandist Jesuits were publishing at Antwerp, which has been in course of issue ever since and is not yet finished. Papenbroeck was so puzzled how to treat the great structures of pious fraud that surrounded the early history of ancient monasteries and the lives of their saintly founders, that he came to the rash conclusion that all documents contained in ancient cartularies were deliberate falsifications by eleventh century monks and that the older they were the more likely were charters to be suspicious. To prove his case, he made special reference to a set of more than suspicious charters of the royal abbey of Saint Denis, near Paris.

This aroused the whole Benedictine order against the upstart Jesuit, who had, with an audacity transcending that of the worst of heretics, questioned the sacred sources of early monasticism. The limitations of Papenbroeck's scholarship made it easy to deal with his strangely sweeping and unscientific generalisations. Unluckily for the Bollandist, and luckily for historic science, his tractate provoked an answer from John Mabillon, a Benedictine monk of that wonderful congregation of Saint Maur, which had begun to pour forth from the Parisian abbey of Saint Germain-des-Près the admirable collection of works of mediæval erudition that have to this day retained much of their value. In 1681, only six years after the attack on the authenticity of monastic charters, Mabillon issued his crushing answer to Papenbroeck in his great work *De re diplomatica*, wherein he not only completely demolished the poor Jesuit but laid down the general lines of the modern science of *diplomatic* by indicating the general principles by which the authenticity of mediæval documents must be tested. This book marks a turning-point in the history of scholarship, the beginning of modern historical criticism. It has suggested the lines on which subsequent scholars have built up the scientific criticism of ancient documents, how to distinguish between the true and the false. If the rules of modern diplomatic are now more vigorous than

these of Mabillon, he nevertheless laid its foundations with extraordinary surety and skill. It is a pleasing conclusion of the story to know that Papenbroeck was among the first of Mabillon's converts. "I assure you," wrote this magnanimous soul to Mabillon, "that my only consolation for having written upon this subject is that I have given you an opportunity to write your book. Do not hesitate to say publicly, whenever you have a chance to do so, that I am now entirely of your way of thinking."

Up to now I have been giving you generalities. But example is better than precept, and I should like to illustrate the general nature of the falsification of mediæval documents by telling you in some detail the story of two of the most notorious forgeries of mediæval documents. Both of these cases involve not merely the fabrication of a single document. Both are on a scale that in each instance runs to the size of a moderate volume. One is a late fourteenth century forgery of an alleged early twelfth century history: the other is an eighteenth century fabrication of an imaginary fourteenth century original. Both were generally accepted as authentic: both have been abundantly proved to be absolute and complete fabrications. Yet they have been so long used by numerous writers that a generation ago there was hardly a textbook that did not swallow wholesale the lies of these writers. Even nowadays historical sanitary science has its work cut out to destroy the extraordinarily tenacious microbes, which breed so readily that they are still liable to infect the pure wells of history. For that reason I am emboldened to tell once more the tales of deceit involved in the *Historia Crowlandensis*, the history of Crowland Abbey, by the false Ingulf, and the tractate *De Situ Britanniae*, by the pseudo Richard of Cirencester.

Half-way between Peterborough and Spalding, on the right bank of the Welland, amidst the fens and marshes of the Lincolnshire Holland, the little abbey town of Crowland still preserves in the surviving portions of the monastic church and its unique triangular bridge relics of its former greatness. The religious history of the place begins when a noble anchorite, St. Guthlac, set up his solitary dwelling in this remote island of the fenland, early in the ninth century. Some time later, a monastery arose to commemorate his memory, but when and how we know not, for the early life of Guthlac tells us nothing of its existence. It is very likely that this obscure house was overwhelmed

by the Danish invasions of the ninth century, and restored on a firmer basis in the days of Edgar and Dunstan. It is certain that it assumed a new importance with the monastic revival that preceded and followed the Norman Conquest. As ruled by two English abbots in succession, in a time when most of the great houses of religion were in Norman hands, and as the tomb of the last of the English earls, Waltheof, Crowland Abbey had a particular attraction to the English in the generation after the Norman Conquest. The second of these English abbots, Ingulf, combined with English birth, discipline in a French monastery, and service in the court of William the Conqueror as one of his scribes. His abbacy was chiefly marked by a disastrous fire that destroyed many of the books and records of the house. On Ingulf's death in 1109, Geoffrey, a monk of Saint-Evrault in Normandy, was appointed his successor and set to work to reconstitute the history and traditions of the house. With this object he invited to Crowland a brother monk of Saint-Evrault, called Ordericus Vitalis, who, like Ingulf, was a monk of English birth and Norman training. Orderic the Englishman was probably already busy in preparing his great ecclesiastical history which was to give him enduring fame. He spent five weeks at Crowland in 1115 and afterwards wrote down in his history all that we really know of the history of the abbey up to his date.¹ He also, perhaps, wrote down a little more than the truth, for his record contains the substance of a charter, "sealed with the seal" of Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, recording certain grants to the church, made when that king visited Guthlac. By it Ethelbald granted the holy man a wide extent of lands, five miles to the east, three to the west, two to the north, and two to the south of the site of the saint's home. Besides this there is a charter of Thurketil, the refounder of the abbey, making large gifts from his own patrimony, "sealed with the seal of the most strenuous King Edgar". Here we are in the beginning of the Crowland forgeries, for though early grants to the monastery are certain, and many of the lands enumerated in Thurketil's charters are recorded in Domesday as the ancient domains of the abbey even before the days of Edward the Confessor, it is curious that Ethelbald of Mercia and Edgar the Peaceful should seal charters with their seal, after the fashion which only came with Edward the Confessor

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 268-90. Ed Le Prevost, Société de l'Histoire de France.

and William I. It is strange too that Ethelbald, visiting Crowland as king, should have made grants to Guthlac who died before that event took place. But there is little impossible in the substance of the charters, were it not that the later history of Crowland makes us suspicious. On the face of it, it looks as if Geoffrey the abbot had imported his old friend from Saint-Evrault to write up the history of the abbey and had unloaded on him as much information, apocryphal and other, as he had thought he was likely to assimilate. There is no reason for imagining that Orderic was not acting in good faith. Indeed there is no special reason for imputing any grave criminality to the abbot. It was a time when every monastery was investigating its claims to its lands. What more natural, if the Danes or the floods had destroyed title deeds, than that the friends of the house should do their best to reconstitute the vanished past? And, reconstitution once allowed, it was best to make a good job of it. So the dutiful monks of Crowland set themselves to work to follow the example of Lanfranc, their metropolitan. We may note, however, for future reference that, according to Orderic, neither Thurketil nor Ingulf wrote histories themselves. All that Ingulf had to do with books was to witness the burning of the abbey library.

We must now jump on for three centuries in the history of Crowland. About the reign of Richard II, there seems to have been another wave of tendency towards substantiating the claims of the monks to the lands in their possession. Drainage was turning some of their fens into good pasture and arable lands, and estates long waterlogged and useless were beginning to yield good commercial profits. Monasteries no longer held the same strong position in the public eye that they had held in Norman days. The king was casting a greedy eye on the temporalities of the church: the local lords were envying the church that was dressed out in the feathers of other birds; Wycliffe and the friars preached the same doctrine of apostolic poverty, though with somewhat different applications. It was, therefore, high time that the "possessioner" monks should disturb themselves or they would have nothing left to possess. Late fourteenth century Crowland was not particularly scrupulous. For instance, in 1384 there was need to investigate a charge of brigandage brought against the abbot John by a Northampton merchant, who complained that the abbot and a band of followers, "after long lying in wait" took him prisoner, shut him

up in a castle, and treated him so austere-ly that he was compelled to pay a fine of 40s. "for his greater ease in prison," and his friends were reduced to drawing up a bond for £200 to be paid for his release. Yet "notwithstanding this, the abbot and his associates kept the poor merchant in prison at Northampton" until the unlucky trader was himself compelled to enter into a similar writing for £300 "to keep them indemnified towards the abbot and they now threaten to take and imprison him again."¹ What truth lay in these charges I know not, but the story suggests an atmosphere of Greek or Sicilian brigandage, organised on as business-like a scale as that of Hadgi-Stavros in Edmond About's delightful *Roi des Montagnes*.

Crimes of violence jostled with crimes of deceit. Ten years later the Patent Rolls recite how, in 1393, King Richard had inspected the charter of Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, dated 716, and a charter of Edred, King of England, dated 948, in favour of the abbot and convent of Crowland, and had duly ordered their confirmation.² We have seen that to produce such a confirmation an original had to be produced, sufficiently specious to be acceptable to the clerks of the chancery. We know, then, that the forger was already at work. To make assurance doubly sure, he obtained from the new king, Henry IV, a new *inspeximus* and a confirmation of the *inspeximus* of the dethroned Richard.³ Nevertheless enough had not yet been done to safeguard the abbey property. There was a particular danger from its northern neighbours, the prior and monks of Spalding, whose claims had always clashed with those of Crowland, and whose power was now enhanced by the transference of the crown to the house of Lancaster, which, as earls of Lincoln, claimed the lordship of Spalding as part of the honour of Bolingbroke. If John of Gaunt, as duke, had been a thorn in the side of Crowland, his son, as king, might well do it more grievous harm. A fierce dispute in the law courts about 1413 brought things to a crisis. In the hope of thoroughly confounding their rivals at Spalding, Crowland put forth its final effort in forgery. The earlier falsified documents were carefully strengthened by a whole crowd of fictitious charters; they were strung together in a continuous and picturesque narrative; the whole was given to the world as the

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1381-5*, p. 421.

² *Ibid.*, 1391-6, p. 300.

³ *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 76.

History of Crowland, and this false history was fathered on the abbot Ingulf. Finally, as an afterthought, the false Ingulf has a forged continuation which is assigned to a writer of the age of Henry II, Peter of Blois.

The early history of the fraud is obscure, but from the sixteenth century onwards it became generally accepted. It was quoted under Elizabeth to prove that Cambridge University was flourishing in Norman times. In the seventeenth century it deceived most of the antiquaries and historians, including such great scholars as Dugdale and Spelman. The note of warning was sounded by the learned Henry Wharton, and Hickes, the English Mabillon, declared strongly that the charters were forgeries. Gibbon sneered at its statement that Ingulf studied at Oxford books of Aristotle, not known at that time in Europe. But all the literary historians, from Hume downwards, eagerly adopted its picturesque purple patches. While good chroniclers have not to this day found an English translator, the pseudo-Ingulf was done into the vernacular time after time. The long series of apocryphal charters are solemnly set forth in the last edition of the *Monasticon*. The local historian, the guide-book writer, the text-book maker all made Ingulf his own. When the nineteenth century found him out, and a crowd of scholars, Palgrave, Riley, Liebermann, Searle, published conclusive demolitions of his statements, the pseudo-Ingulf still kept some conscious and more unconscious disciples. Less than forty years ago a scholar, officially attached to the British Museum, and supposed to be enough of an expert to edit the whole corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters, maintained that, though spurious in form, Ingulf's charters were reconstructions of original deeds and therefore contained much true history. It requires a faith greater than the faith that moves mountains to clear away the lofty pile of lies that has overwhelmed the good faith of the monks of Crowland.

That such doctrine can have been preached down to our own days is startling evidence that the science of Mabillon has not yet said its final word. But difficult as is the problem of separating the wheat from the chaff in the "remade" and "conflated" and otherwise doctored Norman and Saxon charters, it requires no very deep criticism to see that the pseudo-Ingulf is just a novel with a purpose, and that purpose fraud and deceit. To begin with, there is no manuscript of the chronicle older than the sixteenth century. The "autograph of Ingulf," which

Spelman is said to have seen, has mysteriously disappeared with all the other pre-Tudor copies. The narrative and charters alike teem with all sorts of anachronisms. The place-names are in the form of the fourteenth and not of earlier centuries. The forger did not know the difference between Anglo-Saxon and Norman Latin terms. He puts earls of Lincoln and Leicester in Anglo-Saxon times and calls Saxon nobles after the names of castles founded by Normans. He makes Thurketil the chancellor of Edward the Elder, though the first English king to have a chancellor was Edward the Confessor. He says that the triangular bridge, a fourteenth century structure, existed in the tenth century. He puts fiefs, manors, sheriffs, archdeaconries, seals, vicars, into ages which knew them not. He sends dead men on missions to kings and princes; he makes Ingulf on his travels visit an emperor who was not yet an emperor, and a patriarch who was already in his grave. He makes Thurketil recommend as bishops people who died years before he was born. He makes aged monks, driven away by heathen Danes, come back to restore the abbey and resume their monastic routine, and die, years afterwards, at such ages as 148, 142, and 115. He makes Ingulf study in the non-existent University of Oxford the metaphysics of Aristotle at a time when that work was unknown in Western Europe. He makes monks of Crowland journey over daily from their Cambridgeshire manor of Cottenham to give lectures in a barn at Cambridge on grammar, logic, and rhetoric. He makes Englishmen in the tenth century use French as a vernacular speech. But why go on multiplying instances? The anachronisms and contradictions are so numerous that I can see no use whatever for the book, unless it is to guide the historical tiro in his initial steps in the art of detecting forgery. But to all teachers I still feel there is need to say "Beware of the false Ingulf and all his works".¹ When you find Ingulf quoted, put away for ever the book that thus stamps itself as belated and unscientific.

With all his practice, the mediæval forger was a poor hand at his job. Let us turn then to another famous forger, who lived less than

¹ The best demonstrations of the pseudo-Ingulf forgeries are those of Sir Francis Palgrave in *Quarterly Review*, W. G. Searle's *Ingulf and the Historia Crowlandensis* in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Archæological Society*, 1894, and, more thorough of all, that of Dr. F. Liebermann, "Über ostenglische Geschichtsquellen, besonders den falschen Ingulf," in *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, 227-67, 1892-3.

two hundred years ago, and see whether the eighteenth century, that age of reason, enlightenment, and sober judgment, could not go one better in falsification than the later middle ages. Let us turn from the pseudo-Ingulf to the false Richard of Cirencester.

About the same time that Crowland was preparing the way for the colossal mystification of the false Ingulf, there lived in the sister abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster, a monk of the house named Richard of Cirencester. The excellent list of Westminster monks which Dr. Pearce, the new bishop of Worcester, has put together from the remarkable archives of the abbey,¹ tells us at a glance what is known of his long and uneventful career. A novice in 1354-5, Richard sang his first mass in 1361-2, went through the various grades of office, sojourned at Oxford as a student, went to Rome as a pilgrim, and at last died in 1400. The only noteworthy thing that he did was to write a dull and useless compilation setting forth at length the history of English kings before the Norman Conquest, called the *Speculum Historiale*, the Historical Mirror, which has been, rather unnecessarily, printed, fifty years ago, in the Rolls Series. But even in the bad old days of the beginnings of the Chronicles and Memorials Series, I have grave doubts whether such stuff would ever have seen the splendour of two volumes of print, had not the blameless Richard had fathered on him one of the most audacious and successful forgeries of modern times, and that the edition of Richard's real book gave the learned editor, Dr. J. E. B. Mayor, an opportunity of denouncing in an elaborate introduction the cheat who had taken poor Richard's name in vain. How this came about, we must now discover.

In 1747 there lived at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, Dr. William Stukeley, vicar of All Saints' Church in that historic borough. Stukeley, who had already attained the ripe age of sixty, was a man of considerable reputation, gained in many different spheres. He had been a flourishing physician and had then become a still more flourishing divine. He was a man of science who had long been a prominent member of the Royal Society, and was proud of his "particular friendship" with the great Sir Isaac Newton. Above all he was an archæologist, who had taken a prominent part in founding the London Society of Antiquaries, of which body he had acted as the first secretary.

¹ E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, p. 100.

He had amassed a vast quantity of miscellaneous and undigested learning, and was specially interested in Roman and "Druidical" antiquities. His chief virtue was a habit, then rare, of wishing to see things for himself. This commendable practice had made him a mighty traveller. He had put together the results of his journeys in a curious but not unattractive work, called *Iter Curiosum*. His chief foible was his entire lack of criticism and judgment. Among other things his ill-regulated fancy led him to see the Druids in all things and to regard "Druidism" as "the aboriginal patriarchal religion". It gave him a corresponding weakness for freemasonry, which he believed to be "the remains of the mysteries of the ancients". His last work had been an anticipation of the favourite literary aberration of the late Mr. Gladstone, for he had attempted to indicate "how heathen mythology was derived from sacred history and how the Bacchus of the poets is no other than the Jehovah of Scripture". Stukeley was a harmless, pompous, self-satisfied sort of person, honest enough in the main, but one of whom his best friends could only say that he was compounded of simplicity, ingenuity, superstition, and antiquarianism. He had a touch of humour, too, preaching, when nearly eighty, his first sermon in spectacles on the text "Now we see as through a glass darkly," and so zealous a votary of science that he postponed morning prayers for an hour that his parishioners should have an opportunity of witnessing an eclipse of the sun. He was a great collector of coins and had a rare gift for nosing out mare's nests. Witness his famous find of Oriuna, the wife of Carausius, a discovery that had no more solid basis than a hasty misreading of the word FORTUNA, inscribed on a coin of the would-be Emperor. But he was a considerable personage withal, both in the social and learned worlds. We can read his nature easily enough in his portrait by Kneller. In this smug complacency, well-fed self-satisfaction, good-natured benevolence, and robust health appear patently to all beholders.

On 11 June, 1747, the rural solitude of the great doctor's retreat in the wilds of a flourishing town, "where I looked upon myself as buried for life," was broken by the receipt of a letter from an unknown correspondent, Professor Charles Bertram of Copenhagen. The "professor" was a young man of four and twenty who was earning an honest living as teacher of the English language in the marine academy of the Danish capital. The son of an English silk-dyer,

Bertram was a Londoner born, but had been taken at an early age to Copenhagen, where his father had set up a hosier's shop. It is to be regretted that we know but little of the elusive personality of Mr. Bertram, but he must clearly have been a clever fellow, well educated, enterprising, audacious, and not overtroubled with scruples. He was eager to get on, and, some months after his correspondence with Stukeley began, he petitioned the Senate of the University of Copenhagen not to allow his profession of English Churchmanship to be a bar to his matriculation as a student at that University, where rigid Lutheranism was a normal condition of admission. His teaching post must have been a very humble one, and it was a feather in the cap of the audacious arrivist that he had so easily attracted the attention of the eminent hermit of Stamford.

Let Stukeley tell the tale of the results of the shot fired at a venture by the ingenious Mr. Bertram. The first letter of the "gentleman unknown to me" was "polite, full of compliments, as usual with foreigners, expressing much candour and respect for me; being only acquainted with some works of mine published. The letter was dated the year before: for all that time he hesitated in sending it." The doctor was much flattered at its contents. "I wonder," he wrote in his Diary, "at the meaning of his finding me out in obscurity." What Bertram was after, subsequent correspondence gradually revealed.

To Bertram's first letter Stukeley returned a civil answer. This produced further correspondence, including a prolix and elaborate letter from "the famous Mr. *Gramm* . . . a learned gentleman who had been in England and visited our Universities. He was Mr. *Bertram's* great friend and patron."

"I answered that letter," said Stukeley, "and it created a correspondence between us. Among other matters Mr. Bertram mentioned to me a manuscript in a friend's hands, of Richard of Westminster, being a history of Roman Britain, which he thought a great curiosity; and an ancient map of the island annex'd." Then ensued some delay. The Duke of Montagu, drew Stukeley "from a beloved retirement" by presenting him to the living of St. George's, Queen-Square, Holborn. "When I became fix'd in *London*," continued Stukeley, "I thought it proper to cultivate my *Copenhagen* correspondent." The "famous Mr. *Gramm*" was now dead and Stukeley and Bertram

were consequently in direct relations once more. "I now," wrote Stukeley, "began to think of the manuscript and desired some little extract of it." The result was "an imitation of the handwriting," which the keeper of the Cotton Library "immediately pronounced to be 400 years old". Now came the tug of war. "I press'd," continued Stukeley, "Mr. Bertram to get the manuscript into his hands, if possible, which at length, with some difficulty he accomplish'd; and on my solicitation . . . a transcript of the whole; and at last a copy of the map." "Upon perusal I seriously solicited him to print it, as the greatest treasure we now can boast of in that kind of learning." Bertram, however, proved coy. Some years elapsed, during which Stukeley made the further suggestion that Bertram's "Richard of Westminster" might well be the Westminster monk, Richard of Cirencester, with whose *Speculum* he seems to have been acquainted. Bertram thankfully took the hint. In 1756 the faithful Stukeley gave him a puff preliminary in the shape of a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries and published in their transactions. In 1757 Bertram published at Copenhagen a volume in which, along with Gildas and Nennius, "Richard of Cirencester," *De Situ Brittaniæ*, first saw the light, accompanied by the "ancient map" and an elaborate commentary by the fortunate discoverer.

The eighteenth century had more "enlightenment" but hardly more "historical sense" than the middle ages. It had certainly less learning and real criticism than the great seventeenth century scholars who had been taken in by the false Ingulf. It was no great wonder, then, that Richard of Cirencester, so whole-heartedly introduced by the learned Dr. Stukeley, should have led captive the antiquarians and historians of the age of reason. There was no one to ask why a monk who lived under Edward III should have any more means of knowing about Roman Britain than the rector of St. George's, Queen's Square, or the professor of English in the marine school at Copenhagen. There was nobody even to take the trouble to compare the map, presented to the London antiquaries in 1756, with the very different map issued by Bertram in 1757. Soon Stukeley republished Richard in a second series of his *Iter Curiosum*. Henry Hatcher of Salisbury set forth the precious text in English, and bore "unequivocal testimony" to its fidelity and exactitude. He protested

that the "unaffected candour" and "laudable zeal" of Richard, his contentment with the "humble honours" of a compiler, showed that he had neither the "inducement nor the inclination to incur the guilt or deception of forgery". Still more emphatic was John Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, who made Richard a chief authority for his "antiquarian romance," which consecrated two volumes to the history of Manchester before the Norman Conquest. Whitaker declared ecstatically that "all the embodied antiquaries of the fourteenth and three succeeding centuries could not have forged so learned a detail of Roman antiquities". In this remark Whitaker was more right than he knew, for it is precisely the non-mediæval character of the pseudo-Richard that convinces the modern scholar that the book was not composed in the Middle Ages.

Even at the time of its first publication, there were some cautious scholars who ventured to suggest that there was a large element of imagination in Richard of Cirencester's work. But they were voices crying in the wilderness. For the best part of a century, every work dealing with Roman Britain implicitly accepted all the forger's statements. To this day atlases and school books have hardly yet been purged of the precise boundaries of the Constantinian provinces of Roman Britain, which are due solely to the imagination of this new "source". To this day text-book writers and popularisers copy out from their predecessors "facts" as to Romano-British history which have no other basis than his imaginations, and it is the more lamentable since most of them have long formally repudiated his authority. The local antiquary finds it even harder to cleanse his system of the virus of Richard than he does to purge it of the infection of the false Ingulf. The Ordnance Survey faithfully marked in its maps the imaginary sites of Richard's Roman stations. It would be an interesting minor investigation to see whether recent recensions of the Ordnance maps have in all cases eliminated these errors. It is only within the last fifty years that conclusive demonstrations of the forgery have convinced all scholars that the book is absolutely valueless.

Scepticism had begun earlier, when careful inquiries at Copenhagen had demonstrated the non-existence of any ancient manuscript or modern copy of the book Bertram gave to the world. There is no reasonable doubt that he forged every line of it, and a remarkably

clever forgery it is for a young man¹ who had not even begun his University course. The style is so mature and rounded that one is inclined to believe that its composition is posterior to the early correspondence of Bertram and Stukeley in 1747. Bertram's original motive in writing to Stukeley may have been no worse than a desire to win by flattery the patronage of that eminent person, and his reference to "Richard of Westminster" was but a casual incident of the correspondence. But Stukeley rose so greedily to the bait and so pressed Bertram to produce Richard of Westminster's work, that the poor youth was forced to satisfy the importunities of the English antiquary. Thus what began as a piece of self-advertisement or a boyish practical joke ended in a careful and deliberate forgery. The map sent to Stukeley in 1747 was not difficult to make, and it took two years of importunity to extract the text of the pseudo-Richard from Bertram's hands. A young man in a hurry would not have tarried so long, if he had ready to hand the goods that he had promised to deliver.

It is hardly needful nowadays to state at length the reasons for accusing Bertram of the sole authorship of both map and book. The map is not at all like any mediæval map of Britain, but is clearly based in outline upon the sixteenth or early seventeenth century Dutch maps whose inaccuracies are faithfully copied. The text is only sound when it is a mere compilation from well-known authors. When it gives us fresh information, it is written in a style that no mediæval writer could possibly have composed. The Latin is fluent and readable, despite occasional false concords and sheer blunders. But it is the Latin of an eighteenth century semi-scholar, accustomed to think in his vernacular and singularly destitute of knowledge of mediæval vocabulary, spelling, idiom, and forms of thought. Bertram's own copious commentary is written in exactly the same style as the text which he maintained was composed in the fourteenth century. It is the style of a third-rate editor of the period. It makes a Westminster monk, who died in 1400, almost as familiar with the mysteries of the Druids as the egregious Dr. Stukeley. It suggests that this Westminster monk had had at least a bowing acquaintance with the Deistic

¹ The first detailed statement of the case against "Richard of Cirencester" is in some articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1866-67 by B. B. Woodward. The fullest working out of the whole problem is in J. E. B. Mayor's introduction to *Speculum Historiale*, Vol II, XVII-CLXIV, Rolls Series.

controversies of Bertram's own age and some sympathy with the less orthodox side of it. No mediæval writer ever, like the pseudo-Richard, addressed the "candid" or "the benevolent reader". No fourteenth century abbot would have discouraged one of his monks from writing an historical treatise on the ground that it was incompatible with the possession of holy orders. No mediæval monk of Westminster would have known such comparative philology as was known to the eighteenth century. The false Richard not only knew the *Agricola* of Tacitus but quoted it from a sixteenth century printed edition, containing a remarkable printer's error. A still happier prophetic vision caused him to use Camden's *Britannia*, two hundred years before its publication. Add to this that the facsimile supplied to Stukeley, although it deceived the contemporary palæographers as easily as the Latin deceived contemporary scholars, was a gross and palpable forgery that never could have been written in any period of the middle ages.

To conclude I will adopt a simple way of proving that Richard was no mediæval monk. I will read a characteristic passage from his work. None is better for our purpose than his general observations on the question of a "certain person,"¹ Where are now the vestiges of those cities and names which you commemorate? Richard's reply is, "This question may be answered by another". He then goes on as follows (I quote from the enthusiastic Mr. Hatcher's translation): "The negligence and inattention of our ancestors in omitting to collect and preserve such documents as might have been serviceable in this particular, are not deserving of heavy censure, for scarcely any but those in holy orders employed themselves in writing books, and such even esteemed it inconsistent with their sacred office to engage in such profane labours. I rather think I may without danger and offence transmit to posterity that information which I have collected. The good abbot indeed had nearly inspired me with other sentiments." He urged that "all our studies should be directed to the purpose of being useful to others". To this Richard replies: "Is then every honest gratification forbidden? Do not such narratives exhibit proofs of Divine Providence? Does it not hence appear that an evangelical sermon concerning the death and merits of Christ enlightened and subdued a world overrun with gentile superstitions?" The abbot rejoined that

¹ Bk. I, ch. VII., pp. 65-67, ed. 1809.

such things are properly treated of in systems of chronology, and that works intended merely to acquire reputation for their authors should be committed to the flames. Accordingly the modest Richard limits himself to a permissible "chronological abridgement," begging the reader to "pray for him to our heavenly Father who is merciful and inclined to forgiveness".

This is second-rate stuff indeed : but it is just the sort of stuff that no fourteenth century monk could have written. Its standpoint, its language, its mentality, are of the eighteenth century. Even Mr. Hatcher sees this, for he sagely observes, "These remarks prove how much Richard rose superior to the prejudices of his age and profession !"

Bertram never attempted to "live up" to the brilliant achievement of his youth. He either lost health or ambition or was afraid of being found out. Moreover, he had not much time to write more, for he died in 1765, only seven years after his great mystification saw the light. While before 1758 he had written grammars and school books, his chief later production was a Danish translation of an English treatise "on the great advantages of a godly life". Thus the forger prepared for his end by a work of edification. He was not the only literary falsifier in the age of Ireland, Macpherson, Iolo Morganwg and Chatterton. These were men of very varying grades of blameworthiness, and perhaps we should not attach too much stigma of criminality even to poor Bertram. There are many scholars, even nowadays, who share to some extent the mediæval fashion of blowing alternately hot and cold against forgers ; and in cases of doubt easily persuading themselves that there was some basis of tradition at the back of even the grosser impostures. This is a weakness of the profession, just like the tendency of bibliomaniacs for purloining books, and the similar laxity of a larger section of the general public in respect to umbrellas. But there is no need to labour so obvious a point. In a tale of immoral action there is no moral to be drawn. If there were, I should be inclined to put in a plea for the mediæval forgers with whom I am chiefly concerned against the modern faker of pseudo-mediæval things like Charles Bertram. Am I too much an apologist of my favourite periods when I suggest that the mediæval forger, severe as were his limitations, knew his job at least as well as his modern imitator ? It is a real discredit to the eighteenth century

that it was so easily deceived by Bertram. Nowadays we are not likely to give long shrift to a new artist in forgery like the Anglo-Dane. Yet even now we still lack the rigid criteria which enable us decisively to condemn or accept large categories of Norman charters. But it is a comfortable reflection that all forgeries will ultimately be found out. They sometimes, however, hold the field long enough for the forger to make a considerable reputation, and occasionally even a certain sum of hard cash by his mystification.

MIND AND MEDICINE.¹

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THE early relationships between mind and medicine are intimately bound up with the process by which medicine grew out of magic and religion. The history of medicine reveals a long and chequered progress, still far from complete, in which Man's attitude towards disease slowly became different from that he held towards the many other mysteries by which he was surrounded. His endeavours to cope with disease took at first two directions. In one he ascribed disease to the action of beings different from himself, but capable of being reached by rites of prayer and propitiation. Since these rites, wherever we study them, reveal an attitude of respect and appeal, and imply powers which man does not himself possess, it seems legitimate to regard the beings to whom they are addressed as higher and more powerful than himself. The general body of rites and beliefs forming the means of intercourse between Man and these higher powers make up the aspect of life we call religion. One of Man's early modes of behaviour towards disease may thus be regarded as forming part of religion and the religious attitude.

In the other direction disease was ascribed to the action of other human beings, or of beings of a non-human kind believed to be amenable to processes of a compulsive nature, and therefore less powerful than Man himself, so that the attitude adopted towards them implied neither respect nor appeal. When his efforts to deal with disease took this direction, Man compelled or induced the being to whom disease was ascribed to withdraw the agencies by which the illness was being produced, or himself employed measures designed to negative their effects. Beliefs and measures of this kind make up the aspect of

¹ A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, the 9th of April, 1919.

life known as magic, but this aspect is less capable of definition than religion and needs analysis into several distinct elements. One of these is certainly degenerate religion, beliefs and rites no longer implying any reference to higher powers which at one time formed their motive and sanction.

The great majority of the measures by which existing savage peoples attempt to cope with disease fall into one or other of the two categories of religion and magic. All that we know of the history of mankind suggests that it was only after long ages, and in some few parts of the earth, that Man reached a conception of disease according to which it is ascribed to processes similar to those underlying modern systems of medicine. The emergence of medicine from its intimate associations with religion and magic is closely connected with the gradual substitution of the concept of physical causation for the spiritualistic agencies of the animism which formed the early attitude towards nature. The growth of medicine is closely bound up with the development of the concept of a natural world as opposed to a world we now regard as supernatural.

All the evidence at our command goes to show that as Man relinquished his early animistic interpretation of the universe, this was replaced by explanations of a materialistic kind. In so far as events were not ascribed to spiritual beings or to direct human agency, they were believed to depend on the action of material agents. The agents thus supposed to be effective in the production of disease during the history of medicine have been of two chief kinds. Among peoples who have been especially influenced by beliefs concerning animals, this branch of creation has been prominent in their theories concerning the production of disease. Elsewhere the evident connection of the blood with life has led to the belief that disease is predominantly due to an altered character of this fluid, and this belief formed the starting-point of the humoral pathology which for so many centuries formed the basis of medicine. The two great developments of our own time in medicine have followed these two main lines of early belief. For the worms and snakes¹ of savage medicine have been substituted the microscopic and ultra-microscopic organisms of the germ theory of dis-

¹ When these early beliefs are regarded as previsions of the germ-theory it should be remembered how naturally they follow from the general beliefs concerning animals characteristic of certain forms of human culture.

ease, while the place of the old humours has been taken by the alteration in the proper proportion of internal secretions which is now coming to be recognised as the immediate cause of so many morbid states.

During the long period in which medicine was occupied in substituting these material agents for the spiritual beings to which all disease was once ascribed, little if any room was left for agencies which come within the modern connotation of mind.

When Man thought of the production of disease by other than material agents, his concept of the activity involved was very different from that of "mind" as held by ourselves, or at any rate by the psychologist. The agency to which he ascribed disease was spiritual rather than mental, and was conceived as having form and capacity for independent existence. It might be a spirit which had never been human or had human associations, or one which had once had a human habitation but had come through the death of its host to acquire an independent existence, or lastly, it might be a soul which still had its customary seat within a human body, but could leave it in sleep or trance to act as the producer of disease.

Though at this stage of human culture there is no trace of the modern concept of mind as distinguished from spirit, we can see clearly that most of the processes by which disease was thought to be produced, and was treated, are such as would act through the mind. The manifold lines of treatment by which human or spiritual agents were induced to cure disease acted, if they were successful, through the agency of faith and suggestion. The curative measures which are still being employed by many peoples, act through the same processes and owe their success to the faith they inspire or to the more mysterious property we call suggestion.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish the production and treatment of disease by agencies acting through the mind from the knowledge that the measures used act in this manner. Though remedies acting through the mind were probably the earliest to be employed by Man, the knowledge that the remedies act in this way is one of the most recent acquirements of medicine. It is said that the Japanese of the sixteenth century understood the action of remedies through the mind,¹ while the great importance attached by the Hindus to the

¹ M. Neuburger, *History of Medicine*, London, 1910, vol. i., p. 78.

mental, as opposed to the material, makes it probable that they also had more than an inkling of the rôle of mental factors in the treatment, if not in the production, of disease. How far this may be so must be left to special students who will examine the original authorities with an eye to the possibility that the agencies in which these peoples believed were spiritual rather than mental in nature. If we confine our attention to our own culture, it is only within the last fifty or sixty years that there has been any clear recognition of the vast importance of the mental factor in the production and treatment of disease, and even now this knowledge is far from being fully recognised either by the medical profession or the laity.

For the first definite movement in this direction we have, as so often happens in the history of human culture, to thank external influence, in this case that of India. The first great stimulus to the study of the mental factor in disease came from the need to understand the mysterious action of hypnotism. Though this agency had long been known in Europe as in all other parts of the world and had been brought prominently to notice at the end of the eighteenth century by the activity of Mesmer, the knowledge which the Abbé Faria brought to Europe from India acted as a great stimulus to its scientific study, in which Braid of Manchester holds a foremost place, while the later experience of Esdaile in India did much to help the practical utilisation of hypnotism in this country.

About this time there was setting in the wave of materialism which was to dominate European thought for many years. Under this influence the new agent was regarded as a form of magnetism or other physical force. It was only slowly that there came into being the now generally accepted view that the agency through which hypnotism produces its effects is suggestion. This is a process comparable with volition, imagination, or other similar concepts which, wholly devoid of any implication of the independent action of a spiritual being, had been reached by the new and slowly developing science of psychology. The study of hypnotism and allied processes led students to distinguish clearly the important influence of suggestion in the production and treatment of disease.

The phenomena of hypnotism having led students to the definite recognition of the mental factor in medicine, it was natural that attention should be directed to the influence of other mental conditions.

This development followed many directions. The general public, less under the influence of the prevailing materialism of science than the medical profession, and more ready to accept any new doctrine which could be made to harmonise with the old spiritualistic view of disease, adopted with enthusiasm many new systems of healing. In most of these the vast power of religious faith was explicitly recognised. In some, such as Christian Science and the "New Thought," etc., the cardinal element of faith was made the starting-point of intellectual constructions which gave, or seemed to the believers to give, a rational basis for the success that these new movements so often obtained. At the same time, within the medical profession, especially among French-speaking peoples, there came into existence a definite system of psychotherapeutics in which suggestion and other agencies were assigned their rôles, and principles were laid down to indicate the scope of these agencies and the means of turning them to best advantage. In Switzerland P. Dubois¹ laid stress on the helpfulness of explaining what he called the philosophy of disease, while in France J. Déjérine and E. Gauckler² in more scientific fashion, compiled a most valuable text-book of the principles and methods of psycho-therapy.

Independently, growing out of dissatisfaction with the practical use of hypnotism, a third line of approach was taken by the Viennese physician, Sigmund Freud. It had been found by earlier workers that hypnotism was often the means of reaching experience which had been so completely forgotten that by no effort of the will could it be recalled. Working in conjunction with Breuer,³ Freud found the process of bringing these buried memories to the surface led to the disappearance of hysterical symptoms of long duration, and the two authors founded upon this experience a theory of hysteria according to which its symptoms are the indirect expression of old mental injuries (traumata), especially those of early childhood.

Later, Freud found that the buried memories which manifested

¹ *Les Psychonévroses et leur traitement moral*, Paris, 1908; translated by S. E. Jelliffe and W. A. White as "The Psychic Treatment of Nervous Diseases," New York and London, 1906.

² *Les Manifestations fonctionnelles des Psychonévroses*, Paris, 1911; translated by S. E. Jelliffe as "The Psychoneuroses and their Treatment by Psychotherapy," Philadelphia and London, 1913.

³ S. Freud, *Selected Papers on Hysteria and other Psychoneuroses* (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 4), New York, 1912.

themselves in this morbid manner could be brought to the surface more securely and with greater therapeutic efficacy, though less expeditiously, without the aid of hypnotism. By means of his method of free association, starting as a rule from clues provided by dreams, Freud was led to formulate a theory of the unconscious and an elaborate scheme of the mechanism by which it is related to and acts upon the conscious. In the course of this work Freud was led to the conclusion that the mental experience which had been cut off from the general body of consciousness was nearly always connected with sex. His work, and still more that of his disciples, came to deal so exclusively with sexual factors that the general body both of the medical profession and the laity refused to give this movement the attention it deserved. They failed to recognise the immense importance of the mental mechanisms laid bare by Freud's method of analysis, and the body of evidence which was thereby provided to illustrate the influence of the unconscious.

One of the most important aspects of Freud's work was that the rôle he assigned to the unconscious enabled him to adopt in the most complete manner the principle of determinism within the mental sphere which had been of such value in the progress of physical science. It is essential to this progress that the student shall believe implicitly, or at the least, act as if he so believe, that every physical event has its physical antecedent, without the presence of which it would not itself have come into existence. The progress of physical science depends largely on the robustness of the faith in this law of causation which allows no residue or anomaly, however insignificant it may seem, to be put on one side as due to chance or accident. The successful worker in science makes such residue or anomaly the subject of patient investigation until its occurrence has been traced to its antecedents, antecedents which may open new paths to the understanding of experience which till then had had no adequate explanation.

So long as the attention of students of mind was confined to the sphere of the definitely conscious, there was no opening for the application of a similar doctrine of determinism within the sphere of the mental. Recognising that the principle of psychical determinism must hold good if psychology is to become a science, some students had put forward hypothetical mental dispositions where no antecedents could be detected in consciousness, but these were too vague to be of any

assistance in research. It is of no service to postulate a disposition of which one knows nothing, which stands in no known relation to any other part of a construction. Other students definitely threw over any attempt to apply the principle of determinism within the sphere of mind, and were content to seek for physical causes in the form of physiological processes or dispositions whenever the study of conscious process failed to provide an adequate explanation.

The special value of Freud's work is due to the fact that he was not content merely to put forward unconscious dispositions as the antecedents of changes in consciousness, but was enabled by the knowledge derived from his analyses to formulate a definite scheme of the unconscious region of the mind and of its relation to the conscious. This scheme is of necessity to a large extent hypothetical, and as with all hypotheses of such complexity, it will certainly require modification, but growing experience is pointing more and more surely to the truth of its main assumptions.

Five years ago, before the outbreak of the war, many were coming to acknowledge the great importance of mental factors in the production and cure, not only of diseases obviously mental in nature, but also of many which had been held to be wholly physical. There was, however, no general agreement concerning the principles which should underlie a system of psychological medicine. There was even no general belief in the possibility of principles which could act as the basis and inspiration of research. From the one system which could have provided such basis and inspiration the majority of workers were estranged, partly owing to the undue weight laid upon sex by its adherents, partly owing to the unsatisfactory form in which the new doctrines had been put before the public.

The effect of their recent experience upon the opinions of the medical profession has been profound. Perhaps the most striking feature of the war from the medical point of view has been the enormous scale upon which its conditions have produced functional nervous disorders, a scale far surpassing any previous war, although the Russo-Japanese campaign gave indications of the mental and nervous havoc which the conditions of modern warfare are able to produce. While certain of these disorders are the result in part of physical causes, such as cerebral concussion or illnesses specially affecting the nervous system, it has gradually become clear, even to the firmest believer in the

dependence of mind on body, that in the great majority of cases the conditions upon which the disorder depends are purely mental. All are coming to see the profound effect of mental shock and strain in weakening the powers of control by which instinctive processes are normally held in check, if not completely suppressed. Moreover, it has become clear that in the vast majority of cases the morbid processes which have been set up by shock or strain are not connected with the sexual instinct, but depend on the awakening of suppressed tendencies connected with the still more fundamental instinct of self-preservation. While the nature of the war-neuroses is satisfactorily explained by the Freudian mechanisms of suppression, conversion, defence-reaction, compromise-formation, etc., they lend no support to the exclusively sexual origin of neurosis which had been the chief obstacle to the general acceptance of Freud's doctrines. It cannot yet be said that the essential features of these doctrines have met with general acceptance, but the state of the matter is now very different from the widespread neglect, or even reprobation, which existed before the war. The great majority of students of the neuroses are now prepared to consider Freud's position, to accept such parts of his doctrine as seem to them supported by the facts, and to suspend judgment concerning those parts for the truth of which they do not deem the existing evidence sufficient.

I have dealt at length with the controversial topic of Freud's views concerning the neuroses because he, more than any other worker, has emphasised the mental factor in disease, and more thoroughly than any one else has based his work on a determinism which is as essential to the progress of psychology and psycho-pathology as determinism within the physical sphere is essential to the progress of the sciences which deal with the material world.

In the foregoing sketch of the history of the relations between mind and medicine I have considered at some length one of the most important principles of psychological medicine, viz., the principle of psychical determinism. This principle is of especial importance in connection with the art of diagnosis, for only those who believe firmly that every mental symptom has its mental antecedent will have the patience and courage to probe deeply enough into the history of a patient. They will not rest content until they have discovered, not only the events which acted as the immediate conditions of the disease,

but also those factors producing the special qualities of the patient's mental constitution which made it possible for these conditions to produce so great and so disastrous an effect. A firm belief in the principle of psychical determinism is the most important condition of success in the diagnosis and treatment of functional nervous disorders.

I propose now to consider some other of the more important principles which underlie success in the treatment of these disorders. One such principle may be regarded as a consequence of psychical determinism. It is a general rule of medicine that the physician must not be content to treat symptoms, but having traced these symptoms to their source, should by suitable remedies attack this source and treat the symptoms through the conditions by which they have been produced. This principle holds good for psychological medicine. If it is believed that the symptoms have been produced by psychical factors, it will follow that the remedies must also be psychical in nature. I do not suppose that even the crudest materialist, having once acknowledged that the symptoms depend upon a fright in childhood, a reproach concerning a misdemeanour in youth, or an anxiety in adult life, would expect to produce any permanent improvement by the administration of a drug or the performance of a surgical operation. It must be pointed out, however, that such measures may be successful in some cases, not merely through their psychical effect, but because, by removing secondary disturbances, they may break a vicious circle and thereby give an opening for the action of intrinsic mental forces working towards recovery. The *vis medicatrix naturæ* applies in the mental as well as in the material sphere.

Another principle which is now meeting with general acceptance in psychological medicine is that functional nervous and mental disorders depend essentially on disturbance of the instinctive and emotional or affective aspects of the mind. It is now widely acknowledged that in the attempt to get back to the roots of these disorders it is necessary to look for experience which had a strong emotional tone. This principle has long been more or less explicitly recognised, and underlies such general beliefs as are expressed in the adage that it is worry and not work which kills. But it is only recently that we have learnt to appreciate the extent of its application and to use it in treatment as a guide of the first importance. It has long been known that in the more explicitly mental disorders of insanity, no good is done by reasoning

with the patient as a means of countering his delusions. It seems even that such reasoning may only intensify and fix the delusions by driving the patient to adopt the part of an advocate. We now see that this is a necessary consequence of the emotional basis of the disorder. The delusions are the product of a process of rationalisation by means of which the patient has tried to account for his abnormal emotional state. Treatment directed to these secondary products wholly fails to touch the deeper and essential factors.

The modern theory of emotion connects it closely with instinct. There is reason to believe that the emotional factor in neurosis is the expression of some instinctive tendency which has been suppressed on account of its incompatibility with social standards. Neurosis occurs when, through some shock or strain, the agencies which keep the tendency in check are weakened, allowing it again to come into conflict with social standards. The form which the neurosis takes depends on the process by which Nature attempts to solve this conflict.¹

I must be content with this brief description of some of the more important principles upon which rests our modern system of psychotherapy, and pass on to consider some of the main agencies which are utilised by the practitioners of this branch of medicine. I shall lay stress especially on the three agencies of self-knowledge, self-reliance, and suggestion.

The agency of self-knowledge, which, following Dr. W. Brown, I have elsewhere² called autognosis, covers a wide field in which two main sections can be distinguished. Where the morbid state depends on some experience or tendency which lies within the region of the unconscious, self-knowledge as a therapeutic agency will consist in bringing the buried and unconscious experience to the surface. The unconscious experience has to be brought into relation with the general body of experience which is readily accessible to consciousness and so made part of it that it ceases to act as a separate force in conflict with the general body of conscious experience.

The other main form of the agency of self-knowledge comprises

¹ See *British Journ. Psych.*, 1918, vol. ix., p. 236, and *Mental Hygiene*, 1918, vol. ii., p. 513.

² Art. "Psycho-therapeutics," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Comparative Religion and Ethics*, vol. x., p. 433. This article may be consulted for information concerning other therapeutic agencies which I do not consider in this lecture.

the processes by which a sufferer is brought to understand elements of conscious experience which are being misinterpreted, and through this misunderstanding are helping to maintain, even if they did not help to produce, the morbid state.

Between these two forms lie a large variety of processes in which there is a mingling of the unconscious and conscious elements brought into relation with one another, thus doing away with the conflicts upon which the disorder depends and restoring harmony within the personality.

It may seem that the rôle here assigned to the process of self-knowledge is in contradiction with what has been said earlier concerning the failure of appeal to the intellectual and the necessity of attacking the instinctive and emotional basis of the disorder. The intellectual element, however, though secondary, is present and must not be neglected. Experience shows that, while the direct attack upon the intellectual aspect of a neurosis or psychosis will fail, a line of treatment in which the intelligence of the patient is brought to bear on the part taken by instinctive and emotional factors in the production of his illness may be of the utmost value. Indeed, success in treatment depends largely on the possibility of diverting the intellectual activity from a channel which is forcing it into an asocial or antisocial direction and leading it into one which will again enable the patient to live in harmony with the society to which he belongs.

Where the sufferer from neurosis is intelligent, the mere exposure of the faulty trend and the demonstration of the process in which this trend took its origin may be sufficient. The patient only needs to be started on the right path and his own intelligence will lead him back to health and happiness. In other cases the faulty trend has been so long in action that a lengthy process of re-education may be necessary to put the morbid process in the proper light, and reduce the power which through habit has been acquired by the secondary products of the morbid process. In other cases, again, the intelligence of the patient may not be sufficient to enable him to solve the conflict unaided, and the process of re-education has to assist the patient to understand the nature of his disorder and the processes by which he can again place his steps upon the path of health.

The next agency I have to consider is one which may be summed up under the term self-reliance. There is a pronounced tendency for

sufferers from neurosis to avoid the unpleasant at all costs. Since all social duties, even those in which the nearest relatives are involved, are liable to become irksome or positively distressing, the patient seeks quiet and solitude, and if left alone these antisocial tendencies may become a habit, converting one who before his illness was a social favourite into a recluse or misanthrope. Aches and bodily discomforts which in health are disregarded, and when so treated soon cease to annoy, are liable in neurosis to grow in intensity and insistence. They may so absorb the attention that the sufferer's efforts are exclusively devoted to the avoidance of all conditions, such as noise and excitement, which aggravate, or seem to him to aggravate, his troubles. He is apt to resort to drugs, either at his own or his physician's instance, and since these are merely palliative and do not touch the roots of his malady, they only serve to accentuate his pains and worries, even if he escapes the greater evil of a definite drug-habit. He strives to banish from his mind all distressing thoughts and memories, including experience so arresting that, if his efforts were not exclusively turned towards the avoidance of immediate pain, he would at once recognise the futility of his attempt.

One of the first steps in the treatment of such cases is to persuade the patient to forego any adventitious aids, such as drugs or electricity, upon which he has come to rely. Assisted by a process of re-education designed to show their subjective nature, he must be encouraged to fight his pains and discomforts by his own strength. He must be convinced of the futility of his attempts to escape from the thoughts and memories which distress him and shown by trial that when these painful experiences are faced they are far less terrible than they seem to be when kept at a distance. He must be encouraged to mix with his fellows in spite of the immediate discomfort which this produces, and here again he must learn by experience that the pains of the reality do not equal those of anticipation.

The policy of facing his troubles instead of running away from them has certain effects of a far-reaching kind which are due to a special mode of reaction of the mind when in the presence of the painful. By repressing unpleasant thoughts and memories the patient is assisting a process by which we tend to suppress painful experience and dissociate it from the general body of consciousness. When thus suppressed and dissociated, however, such experience does not cease

to exist, but by its activity produces many of the most painful features of the illness, distressing dreams and nightmares being the symptoms which form the most direct consequence of the repression and suppression. By facing his troubles in place of striving to banish them, the dreams or other troubles due to repression may disappear or so alter their character as not to interfere with comfort and health.¹ Owing to the malign power of repressed experience, the policy of facing the painful may have effects reaching far more widely than might be expected from the normal experience of health that a trouble faced loses half its terror.

The third agency I have to consider is suggestion. Though this term is freely and confidently used in psychological medicine, there is little agreement concerning its exact meaning, and much is included among its activities which has little to do with it in nature.² I use the term for a process which belongs essentially to the instinctive side of mind. It is the representative in Man of one aspect of the gregarious instinct, the instinct which makes it possible for all the members of a group to act in unison so that they seem to be actuated by a common purpose. According to this view it is a process which differs essentially in nature from those mental processes which produce uniformity of behaviour by endowing the members of a group with a common idea or a common sentiment. Its activities lie definitely within the unconscious sphere so that when the physician employs suggestion consciously, he is using in an artificial manner an agency which belongs properly to the region of the unconscious.

The most striking form in which Man has come to use suggestion consciously and wittingly is hypnotism. All gradations are met in practice between this definitely conscious use and cases in which the physician acts upon his patient and moulds him to his will by the unconscious process of suggestion, without recognising the true nature of the process which is taking place. As a rule the more unwitting the use of suggestion, the greater is its power and efficacy. On this foundation rests the success of quacks, for they advocate and use their

¹ For examples of the beneficial effects of this kind see *The Repression of War Experience*, Proc. Roy. Soc. of Med., 1918 (Section of Psychiatry), vol. xi., p. 1.

² For its distinction from faith as a therapeutic agency, see Art. "Psychotherapeutics" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia*.

nostrums in blissful ignorance of the process upon which their efficacy really depends. The physician who knows enough to distinguish between the influence of suggestion and other modes of action a remedy possesses, may signally fail to attain the success of the quack, because the instinctive process of suggestion is not being employed in the manner natural to it.

One of the greatest difficulties of psychological medicine arises out of the opposition, if it be not definite incompatibility, between suggestion and the group of agencies which rest upon the principle of self-reliance. The action of suggestion can never be excluded in any form of medical treatment, whether it be explicitly designed to act upon the mind or whether ostensibly it is purely physical in character. It is when suggestion is used wittingly, and especially when it is directed to produce a definite hypnotic or hypnoidal state, that the conflict with the principle of self-reliance becomes most definite. In these cases the patient is definitely led to rely on a power, in this case that of the physician, other than his own. Even when, as in the most recent developments of hypnotic treatment, suggestions are given in the hypnotic state designed to strengthen the self-reliance and volitional control of the patient, he cannot have the confidence, and especially the confidence in the future, which is given by a recovery which he can clearly trace to his own efforts. The whole process differs essentially from that in which the action of the physician has been limited to helping the agency of self-knowledge and placing the steps of the patient on the right path. Even if the hypnotic suggestion should succeed in strengthening the will and assisting the patient to face his troubles, his satisfaction and confidence must in some degree be tarnished by the knowledge that this result is due to the action of another person and not to his own activity.

There is also a certain amount of conflict between hypnotic treatment and remedies which rest on the principle of self-knowledge. We do not yet understand the nature of hypnotism. Even to the physician this remedy partakes of that mysterious character which belongs to aspects of nature which have not yet been brought into relation with the rest of our scientific knowledge. To the patient, this mystic character must be far greater. In a fully satisfactory system of mental medicine the treatment should follow logically from the pathology. The remedies should stand in a definite and intelligible relation to the

causes by which the illness has been produced and the processes by which these causes have produced their effects. The intrusion of a mysterious agency interrupts the continuity of blended diagnosis and treatment. It disturbs the process by which the patient is led towards recovery by knowledge of the conditions through which he was led astray.

In spite of these difficulties arising out of conflicts with the main principles of psycho-therapy, there are certain cases in which the use of hypnotism is justified. A faulty trend of thought or conduct may by habit have become so fixed that it requires a process more drastic than mere persuasion to break it, or the unaided strength of the patient may be insufficient to enable him to stand up against the pains or horrors of his malady. In such cases the experience which has produced or helped to produce his illness may by this treatment be buried still more deeply than before ; no lasting and complete success can be expected unless the treatment is continued sooner or later in accordance with the leading principles of self-knowledge and self-reliance. If, however, the patient can be protected from undue stress, hypnotic or other form of suggestive treatment may enable him to pass through life without manifest nervous or mental disorder.

Another and perhaps more legitimate mode of using hypnosis is in the interest of diagnosis. Dissociated or forgotten experience may be recovered more speedily by means of hypnosis than by the process of free association, the analysis of dreams, or other means of gaining access to the unconscious. Such use of hypnotism as an instrument of self-knowledge need interfere very little with the principle of self-reliance, the hypnotic process merely giving the knowledge from which the therapeutic process starts and upon which it is based.

Though hypnotic treatment can thus be justified in certain cases, it is rarely necessary. It is generally used, firstly, as a short cut to immediate results without regard to the future, and secondly, because the striking and theatrical character of these results greatly impresses a public accustomed to consider the needs of the moment as more important than a complete and lasting cure.

I must be content with this brief account of a few of the more important principles of mental therapy and of the agencies which are available in putting these principles into practice. I shall conclude this lecture by pointing out that these basic principles of mental

medicine are also those of all sound systems of education and underlie success in social life, in health as well as in disease.

In the case of one process, the attainment of self-knowledge as a means of treatment, the resemblance with a social process of normal health is so obvious that the physician has come to use a term derived therefrom. The process by which a faulty trend of feeling, thought, or conduct is diverted into a more healthy channel is generally known as re-education. This only differs from the ordinary process of education in the nature of the knowledge and attitude to be acquired. The agency of self-reliance, which I have made of such fundamental importance in psycho-therapy, is of equally great importance in education, though this importance is inadequately recognised in modern educational practice. This failure is due to the fact that it is far easier to pour facts into a pupil than to develop an attitude of mind, just as it is far easier to pour medicine into a patient than to instil hope, patience, and self-reliance.

The influence of suggestion in education resembles in many respects that which I have assigned to it in medicine, and is of especial importance owing to the great suggestibility of children. The importance lies in the power of suggestion in relation to that function of education by which it develops an attitude of interest in the intellectual, the beautiful, or the noble. Nothing assists the development of such an attitude more than the mental atmosphere which the teacher has produced, just as no factor is of greater importance in therapeutics than the atmosphere of hope and trust produced, whether in home or hospital, by a skilful physician. In each case this atmosphere is produced in the main by suggestion, and in education as in medicine this success is the greater the more unwittingly this agency is used. The success of a great teacher, or that which so often comes to new movements in education even when based on wrong principles, is due to the infective enthusiasm and personality of the teacher acting through an agency quite distinct from the matter he teaches. As in medicine, the danger to which such a teacher is open is that he may rely too greatly on this influence and fail to recognise its conflict with the principles of self-knowledge and self-reliance.

The principles which I have here put forward as suited for the treatment of mental disorders of the individual are equally appropriate to the treatment of the faulty trends and disorders of society as a whole.

The statesman whose duty it is to find remedies for such faulty trends and disorders has, like the physician of the individual, to discover the deeper conditions by which they have been produced and may do much to amend the evil by remedies based upon this knowledge. He can hardly, however, expect a lasting cure unless he tell the people what is wrong and where they have gone astray. Without such self-knowledge his work is liable to be upset by later conditions which would be innocuous if the community had been led to see and understand the nature of their earlier misfortunes.

Moreover, the self-knowledge of the community is like that of the individual in that the social group is even more subject than the individuals of which it is composed to the influence of conditions lying deeply beneath the surface. It is generally recognised that the factors upon which social disorders depend usually go far back in the history of the people, factors, not only in conflict with later social standards, but also in many cases with existing social conditions. To understand the evil and find the right remedy, inquiries are needed which go so far into the past that they lie altogether outside the memories of the people and can only be reached by special processes of historical research and sociological reasoning. These factors belong just as much to the unconscious of the folk-mind as the factors producing a neurosis or psychosis belong to the unconscious region of the individual mind.

The importance of self-reliance in disorders of the body politic is as great as that of self-knowledge. A nation which refuses to face the facts and is content to swallow every placebo and nostrum of its politicians cannot expect to gain thereby the permanent improvement of any disorders by which it is affected. Even if the remedies of its rulers be wise, only a temporary effect can be expected if the people rely too much on this wisdom and fail to make a united effort to remedy the faults of their society.

It is less easy to compare the rôle of suggestion in the group with that it takes in determining the fate of the individual. Suggestion is essentially a process tending to produce unanimity in the social group, and its action is even more inevitable when we are dealing with social than with individual disorders. The physician who knows that suggestion cannot be excluded, but that its influence may be for good or evil, will be forewarned and forearmed, and this is equally true of the statesman. Suggestion is responsible for panic or collapse, just as it

may be responsible for harmony to a more useful end. The wise statesman who understands the pervasive and yet elusive nature of this agency, may by such understanding do much to avert its more malign aspects and turn it to a useful purpose, while a people who understand may be prevented from falling victims to the excesses of which this agency is capable. In the society as with the individual the potency of suggestion is the greater, the more unwittingly it is in action. And as in medicine its greatest dangers may be averted through knowledge, so may much be done to avert danger and make suggestion an instrument for good in social and political life if its nature and mode of action are understood.

Closely connected both with education and statesmanship is the subject of ethical training. Here the importance of self-knowledge and self-reliance is so well recognised that it is not necessary to dwell upon it at length. It must be enough to point out that the principles so universally accepted as the means of treating faulty trends in those aspects of behaviour which, though clearly abnormal, are yet usually regarded as lying within the bounds of health, have been shown in this lecture to hold good for the correction of morbid tendencies which lie definitely within the region of disease. The modern theory of psychological medicine supports the close relation between mental disease and crime to which all recent developments in sociology and jurisprudence are tending. Moreover, if the principles of psychological medicine here put forward are accepted, they should remove, or go far towards removing, the obstacle to the acceptance of this close relation which is presented by the problem of moral responsibility. It will be seen that the recognition of crime as a manifestation of disease, far from implying an absence of responsibility, would on the lines laid down in this lecture lead us logically to treatment which does not differ greatly from that implying such responsibility. The mode of treating crime and moral disorder which is suggested by its relationship to disease differs from the older method in that the erring person would not be merely exhorted to exert his will, but would be shown how his faulty trend has been produced and would thus be assisted in the application of his voluntary efforts.

It is a striking fact that the organisation which has by long experience acquired the most highly developed system of treating moral defect, the Catholic Church, lays great stress on the apparently minor

faults which have led up to definitely immoral conduct, and directs the attention and efforts of the penitent to these quite as much as to the conduct which is the immediate occasion for penance. This close resemblance of the traditional practice of the Catholic Church with that of the most modern systems of psycho-therapy leads me to the place of religion in psychological medicine. From one point of view the use of religious motives in treating mental disorder is definitely in conflict with the principle of self-reliance. For the essence of religion is that it inculcates reliance upon a power other than that of the sufferer. Some degree of such conflict there must always be, and in many of the forms in which religion is adopted as a therapeutic agency, this conflict is pronounced. But in the most recent developments of religious doctrine, in which it is recognised that the higher power acts through normal mental process, the conflict becomes of no great account. The modern religious teacher does not tell the sufferer that he will get rid of his troubles by the mere act of faith, but counsels self-examination and self-help. To put his advice into simple language, he says that God only helps those who help themselves, and thus adopts a line which in essentials is that advocated in this lecture. In thus treating religion as a therapeutic agency, I recognise that I am dealing only with one aspect of the matter. I could not, however, leave the subject wholly on one side. It is necessary that those who employ religious agencies in the treatment of disease, whether they be physicians or priests, should realise that in so doing they are running in some degree counter to one of the principles of psychological medicine, for if this fact is recognised they will avoid the evils which might accompany too crude an application of the religious agency. Moreover, no treatment of the subject of mind and medicine would be complete which ignores religion. One of the most striking results of the modern developments of our knowledge concerning the influence of mental factors in disease is that they are bringing back medicine in some measure to that co-operation with religion which existed in the early stages of human progress.

Men of England, heirs of Glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty Mother,
Hopes of her, and one another ;

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

Let a great Assembly be
Of the fearless and the free
On some spot of English ground
Where the plains stretch wide around.

Let the laws of your own land,
Good or ill, between ye stand
Hand to hand, and foot to foot,
Arbiters of the dispute,

The old laws of England—they
Whose reverend heads with age are gray,
Children of a wiser day ;
And whose solemn voice must be
Thine own echo—Liberty !

—From Shelley's "*Mask of Anarchy*," which was
written to commemorate Peterloo.

THE STORY OF PETERLOO.

BY F. A. BRUTON, M.A., LITT.D.

THE SITE.

OF the thousands of people who stream out of the Central Station every day, perhaps it does not occur to many that as they descend the gentle slope in front of the station they have immediately before them the site of Peterloo. The street that runs parallel to the front of the station immediately outside the gates is Windmill Street ; Windmill Street is cut at right angles by three other streets—Watson Street on the left, Mount Street in the centre, and Lower Mosley Street on the extreme right. All four of these streets were in existence at the time of the tragedy of the 16th of August, 1819, though the houses in Windmill Street and Mount Street ran along one side only. Parallel to Windmill Street, and on the other side of four great blocks of buildings, runs Peter Street, now one of the main arteries of the city. With the exception of a fragment at the Deansgate end, Peter Street hardly existed at the date of Peterloo, except as a projected causeway across an open space.

Perhaps the best spot from which to obtain a general conception of the scene is the top of South Street. If we stand to-day at the point where South Street cuts Windmill Street, and look northwards down towards Peter Street, we have immediately on our left the south-eastern corner of the Free Trade Hall. Apparently it was just within the site of that corner that the two carts stood that formed the hustings for the great meeting. If we now imagine that the three blocks right and left of us—the Free Trade Hall and the Tivoli Theatre on the left, and the Theatre Royal and the Y.M.C.A. on the right, are swept away, and the whole space cleared, from Windmill Street on the south right back to the Friends' meeting-house on the north, and from Watson Street on the west to Mount Street on the east, we shall have before us the open space known in 1819 as St. Peter's fields, where the great meeting was held. St. Peter's church,

built in 1794 (the site is now marked by a stone cross) stood in the open to the north-east. The whole space now occupied by the Midland hotel was then a high-walled garden, in which stood a residence known as Cooper's cottage ; at the south-western corner of this enclosure, where we now see the Buffet of the Midland, stood a row of some half-dozen houses, facing Mount Street, in one of which—the residence of Mr. Buxton—the magistrates assembled on the eventful day. From this house a double cordon of some hundreds of special constables reached as far as the hustings, which we have already located. The troops employed were concealed at some little distance from the area, in the side streets ; one body being accommodated in Pickford's yard, off Portland Street.

The streets of Manchester, if we will only see them aright, are thronged with the memories of nearly two thousand years ; of the many epoch-making events that have been associated with them, few, if any, have sent such a thrill through the country as the tragedy which took place in the area we have just defined on the 16th of August, 1819, when there assembled here what proved to be the most important of all the many meetings in favour of Reform which were held in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The slight sketch which follows is an attempt to give as vivid, accurate, and impartial an account of this event as may be possible after the lapse of a hundred years. In order to do that intelligibly, it will be necessary to name a few of the sources from which information is obtainable.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE DETAILS OF PETERLOO.

Though no monograph on the tragedy of Peterloo has appeared so far, the literature dealing with the subject is considerable. We turn first of all, naturally, to the periodical publications of the day—the local newspapers, of which there were five, the London and provincial press, and the monthly and quarterly magazines. Of the five local papers, all weekly, two favoured the "Reformers," as the agitators among the working classes were called at the time ; the other three were more or less antagonistic to them. For a proper understanding of the occurrences of the day it is advisable to follow the issues of these papers for many months, indeed for several years, before and after the

event ; one of the trials, for example, took place nearly three years after the catastrophe.

It is a curious and interesting fact that the future editors of two Manchester newspapers not then founded, both of whom were present in St. Peter's fields on the 16th of August, 1819, finding that the reporter for the London "Times" had been arrested at the hustings, and fearing that therefore the accounts in the London papers would be one-sided, unfairly condoning the action of the magistrates, determined to send a report to London themselves, which duly appeared in two leading London papers. These two men were John Edward Taylor, the founder and first editor of the "Manchester Guardian," and Archibald Prentice, founder and first editor of the "Manchester Times". Taylor, who was in business at the time, immediately constituted himself the protagonist among the champions of the "Reformers," and opened the battle in a series of fourteen weekly tracts entitled "The Peterloo Massacre," the first of which appeared just a week after the event. His clear reasoning and strong democratic leanings are visible in a number of other protests which appeared at the time ; the flame of his indignation against anything that savoured of tyranny seemed only to burn more brightly in the face of adverse verdicts ; and when, less than two years later, the assistance of a number of friends made it possible for him to issue the prospectus of the "Manchester Guardian," foreshadowing a newspaper that should aim at "fixing on a broader and more impregnable basis the fabric of our liberties," he used the columns and leaders of his paper as a weapon of fearless and scathing criticism of those who attempted to defend the action of the authorities on the 16th of August. As a single illustration we may mention that when, in May, 1821, Sir Francis Burdett moved in the House of Commons for a Committee of inquiry into the whole question, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Hobhouse, and lost by more than two to one, Taylor devoted nine and a half crowded columns to a report, and criticised the debate in a leader consisting of three columns closely printed in small type.

Taylor's vigorous and spirited protests brought out Mr. Francis Phillips, a Manchester manufacturer, as champion of the magistrates, and his able pamphlet entitled "An Exposure of the Calumnies Circulated by the Enemies of Social Order against the Magistrates and the Yeomanry Cavalry," went through two editions of a thousand

each. The controversy was the signal for the appearance of a perfect avalanche of tracts, among which we must at least mention two : an anonymous paper entitled, "An Impartial Narrative of the Late Melancholy Occurrences in Manchester"; and a high-toned protest entitled, "A Letter from J. C. Hobhouse, F.R.S., to Lord Viscount Castlereagh".

More interesting for our present purpose are the detailed narratives of a number of eye-witnesses of the scene in St. Peter's fields. The most famous of these is the account given by Samuel Bamford, the Middleton weaver, in his "Passages in the Life of a Radical". Corroborative of Bamford's narrative is the story written by a man who occupied a very different station in life, John Benjamin Smith, afterwards first treasurer of the Anti-Corn Law League, and a close friend of John Bright. A third connected narrative is given by Archibald Prentice, in his "Recollections of Manchester". There is also, of course, the rather highly coloured account given by Hunt, the chairman of the meeting, in his "Memoirs," issued during his confinement in Ilchester jail.

One of the most valuable of all the individual narratives is that given by the Rev. Edward Stanley, father of Dean Stanley, and brother of the first Baron Stanley of Alderley, who came upon the scene quite unintentionally and by pure accident, and watched the proceedings from beginning to end from the room immediately above that in which the magistrates were assembled. Stanley was at the time Rector of Alderley; he afterwards became Bishop of Norwich. His testimony—which was accompanied by a small sketch-plan—is specially valuable because he was pre-eminently a statistician; he became, indeed, one of the first Presidents of the Manchester Statistical Society. Moreover, he saw everything from the point of view of a stranger from outside; and his effort to be impartial and to confine himself to measured language is almost laboured.

The events at Peterloo gave rise to no less than six trials in the various courts, at which the story of the day's proceedings was told and retold with the most wearisome reiteration. The chairman of the magistrates, the special constables, the yeomanry, the Reformers, the anti-Reformers, the chairman of the meeting, the reporters for the London and provincial papers—all were allowed to have their say, and once more the Rev. Edward Stanley appeared as a witness.

More than a quarter of a century after the event, Sir William Jolliffe, Bart., M.P., who actually rode as an officer in the charge of the 15th Hussars at Peterloo, wrote a detailed account of the day from the soldier's standpoint. This valuable record was inserted in "The Life of Lord Sidmouth," for which it had been prepared. Lastly, complimentary dinners in Manchester gave to the commanders of the yeomanry engaged an opportunity of presenting their point of view which was duly reported.

We have now enumerated the principal sources upon which we have to depend for the details of this eventful day ; before attempting a picture of the scene it is necessary to say something of the state of Manchester and of the country at the time.

THE UNREST THAT FOLLOWED THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

FREQUENT USE OF THE MILITARY BY THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES.

The employment of mounted troops and infantry in quelling civil disturbances, protecting property, and dispersing crowds was a common practice for years before the catastrophe in St. Peter's fields ; and, of course, troops were used subsequently, especially during the Chartist disturbances just twenty years later, when Sir Charles Napier was placed in command of nearly 6000 men in the north, and stationed 2000 of them at Manchester, which he regarded as a danger centre. We must, however, carefully distinguish between cases where there was open riot, and instances where there was not even a threat of disorder. At the famous Shude Hill Fight in 1757, the soldiers were only ordered to fire when one of their number had been killed and nine wounded by the rioters. The result of the volley was that four people were killed and fifteen wounded. In 1812 Shude Hill was again the scene of disorder, when the cavalry were called in and the Riot Act was read. In the same year the great depression led to disorder at Stockport, when a troop of the Cheshire yeomanry "cleared an area of a hundred acres in less than ten minutes". This year also saw very serious machine riots at Middleton, where the Scots Greys and Cumberland Militia were used with fatal results.

At the conclusion of the Napoleonic war the Corn Bill led to

fresh disturbances, which continued, more or less, up to the date of Peterloo, the chief causes being unemployment, the scarcity of food, and the terrible social and economic conditions under which the operatives and their families lived. We may form some faint conception of these conditions by reading such a Report as that issued by Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay Shuttleworth) years after the date of Peterloo. The details he gives as to the sanitary conditions in Manchester are such that we could hardly quote them here. Between 1750 and 1820, it must be remembered, the population of Manchester increased sevenfold; yet the town was still under the old manorial system, with no local government whatever; and the great mass of its inhabitants—it is this that makes the situation so cruel—were, in a public sense, *inarticulate*, for Manchester had no parliamentary representative. “The overworked population,” writes Dr. Kay, “had scarcely any means of education, except Sunday schools, dame schools, and adventure schools. They were ignorant, harassed with toil, inflamed with drink, and often goaded with want, owing to sudden depressions of trade.” In a memorial sent up to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, only a few weeks before the catastrophe of Peterloo, the magistrates sitting at the New Bailey Courthouse in Salford make pointed reference to “the deep distresses of the manufacturing classes of this extensive population,” and go so far as to say: “when the people are oppressed with hunger we do not wonder at their giving ear to any doctrines which they are told will redress their grievances”.

In the years 1815 and 1816 the masses were already feeling their way towards a solution of their difficulties. The writings of Cobbett were eagerly read; Hampden clubs were formed in the distressed districts; and Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and a Reform of the Currency were held up as the sovereign cure for the ills of the workers. Hence the agitators earned for themselves the name of “Reformers”. In addition to Cobbett, the workers looked up to five or six public men as their leaders and champions, and one of these became the hero of the Peterloo massacre. They were, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Major Cartwright, Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Henry Hunt, and—at one part of his career—Lord Brougham.

In attempting to understand the situation, it is advisable to keep two facts in mind: first, that there was, without doubt, secret plotting

in a few isolated cases among the operatives, of a decidedly dangerous character ; this is freely admitted by their own representative, who tells, e.g. of the scheme to make a "Moscow of Manchester" ; secondly, that the discovery of this fact led to an estrangement between employers and employed, which postponed and delayed any approach to a friendly settlement.

The whole situation is well expressed by the anonymous author of "An Impartial Narrative," when he says : "The two general classes of Reformers and Anti-Reformers *watched each other with a jealous eye*". To anyone who makes an earnest attempt to obtain an impartial view, this attitude of mutual suspicion, which seemed to heighten the barrier between the two classes as time went on, is one of the most painful features of the whole story.

Two years before Peterloo, when the Habeas Corpus Act had already been suspended, and a number of the agitators were consequently in hiding, a meeting was held in St. Peter's fields which, in all respects except the massacre, was almost the counterpart of the Peterloo meeting. On the 10th of March a great crowd assembled to give a send-off to the "Blanketeers". The magistrates were alarmed at the prospect, though nothing was proposed but a march of a body of petitioners to London, and on the 8th of March the Lord Lieutenant authorised Sir John Leycester to call out the Cheshire Yeomanry in aid of the civil power. The order was obeyed with alacrity ; on the following day five troops of that regiment assembled and marched for Manchester, where they joined the King's Dragoon Guards, and detachments of the 54th and 85th Infantry, the whole force being under the command of Sir John Byng.

Early on the morning of the 10th crowds of people began to stream into the town by various roads, many carrying knapsacks and blankets. The instigators of the meeting spoke from improvised hustings in St. Peter's fields. The magistrates met in the very same room which they afterwards occupied on the occasion of Peterloo, and having warned the leaders with no result, they called upon the military, as they afterwards did at Peterloo, to disperse the meeting. By a "judicious movement" of the King's Dragoon Guards, the cart was instantly surrounded and the constables took the whole of the speakers into custody. No opposition was offered to the cavalry, and the multitude immediately dispersed, the troops giving them free passage. The

march of the Blanketeers was then harassed by the mounted troops mentioned above, all the way to Macclesfield, where a number of arrests were made, and this effort of the Reformers eventually fizzled out. The circumstances of the meeting should be compared with those of Peterloo, because—as Mr. J. E. Taylor afterwards pointed out : “ Here is to be found the precedent for that novel form of reading the Riot Act (if in either case it were read at all) which was followed on the 16th of August, 1819”. Immediately after the Blanket meeting, the Government set on foot a system of espionage, which greatly embittered those agitating for Reform, and was severely criticised in Parliament. Meanwhile the privileged classes in Manchester and other towns had already met, at the suggestion of the Home Secretary, to consider “ the necessity of adopting additional measures for the maintenance of the public peace”. Thus repressive measures only drove the discontent under to smoulder, and suspicion helped to widen the breach. The principal perpetrators of this policy, afterwards so pointedly anathematised by Shelley, were Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, Eldon the Lord Chancellor, and Viscount Castlereagh, the Secretary for foreign affairs.

Less than a year before Peterloo, in September, 1818, the Dragoons were once more called out to disperse a crowd of “ turned-out ” spinners who were attacking a mill in Ancoats. Evidently this was the scene which Mrs. Gaskell had in her mind when picturing the attack on Mr. Thornton’s mill in “ North and South ”. It must not be forgotten that there was, at the time under consideration, no regular police force available. Nadin, the Deputy Constable, who figures in the various arrests, was merely the paid official of the antiquated Court Leet. The so-called “ Commission of Police,” which was under the control of an absurdly unrepresentative committee, will not bear comparison with the Watch Committees of to-day. The practice of swearing-in special constables was frequently resorted to, but special constables had none of the skill and training in the matter of handling crowds possessed by modern police. The constables sometimes declined to act without military aid, and the magistrates leaned heavily on the support afforded by the troops in their difficulties, and frequently acknowledged their indebtedness to them. It is indeed evident from the history of the Cheshire Yeomanry, that when the question of disbanding that regiment was seriously discussed, as it was in the early

part of the nineteenth century, it was overruled by the consideration that the troops were indispensable in dealing with civil disturbances, and the chairman of the sessions immediately following the meeting of Blanketeers in March, 1817, took occasion to say that "the districts most liable to disturbance derived effective military aid from a corps formed in a neighbouring and for the most part tranquil county"; and again, that "*the Bench would be most happy to further any proposition for forming such a corps in the manufacturing districts*".

It must not be forgotten that the "neighbouring and for the most part tranquil county" was an agricultural district; and that the farmers and country squires who rode in its yeomanry had a special interest in preserving intact the Corn Law, which the Reformers were out to repeal.

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD YEOMANRY.

The Resolution just quoted is of great importance for a proper understanding of the occurrences at Peterloo. A careful examination of the evidence makes it clear that the catastrophe was (as far as can be seen now) largely due to the employment at the outset of a body of volunteer cavalry known as the "Manchester and Salford Yeomanry". It is not easy to trace the history of these troops; no contemporary records seem to exist. We can, however, fix the date of their formation within a few months. In his famous tract entitled "An exposure of the calumnies," etc., Mr. Francis Phillips, in quoting a letter of thanks from Lord Sidmouth to the commander of the Cheshire Yeomanry, dated the 12th of March, 1817, says (Appendix, p. v) "*The Manchester Yeomanry had not then been embodied*". Yet Aston, in his "Metrical Records of Manchester," states that the Corps was formed in 1817, and gives some details of its inception. We are therefore justified in supposing that it was embodied as the result of the Resolution quoted above; in other words, that (apparently in emulation of the Cheshire Yeomanry) the corps was instituted mainly for the purpose of assisting the civil authorities in maintaining order. With reference to the number employed at Peterloo Mr. Phillips speaks (p. 58) of "the 116 Manchester and Salford Yeomen who were on duty on the 16th of August". The actual names, addresses, and occupations of these men are given in the "Manchester Observer" for the 20th of April, 1822, and this, again, is important

evidence. They are nearly all from Manchester, a few coming from Pendleton and Stretford ; mostly tradesmen, innkeepers, and small manufacturers, e.g. cheesemongers, ironmongers, tailors, watchmakers, calico-printers, butchers, corn-merchants, butter factors, and so on. It would be unreasonable to suppose that such a levy would contain many skilled horsemen, and this, as we shall see, was fully borne out at Peterloo. Lieutenant Jolliffe says of them : " without the knowledge possessed by a (strictly speaking) military body, they were placed, most unwisely, as it appeared, under the immediate command of the civil authorities " ; and this " greatly aggravated the disasters of the day ".

It may easily be supposed that the use of these local levies of mounted troops for purposes of this kind aroused bitter resentment in the minds of the labouring population, which only grew as time went on. Thus we need not be surprised to find these words in the " Manchester Observer " just a month before the tragedy of Peterloo : " The stupid boobies of yeomanry cavalry in the neighbourhood have only just made the discovery that the mind and muscle of the country are at length united, and during the past week have been foaming and broiling themselves to death in getting their swords ground and their pistols examined. . . . The yeomanry are, generally speaking, the fawning dependents of the great, with a few fools and a greater proportion of coxcombs, who imagine they acquire considerable importance by wearing regimentals."

The sharpening of the swords, by the way, was fully acknowledged by the other side. Thus Mr. Phillips writes (p. 17) : " The simple history of all the tales we have heard of sharpening sabres is briefly this. On the 7th of July the Government issued orders to the Cheshire and Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, through the Lords Lieutenant, to hold themselves in readiness, and consequently most of the Manchester Cavalry sent their arms to the same cutler which the corps during the last war had employed, to put them in condition ". All these details are important as aggravating the bitter feelings which already existed, and we shall see later that when this improvised corps advanced into the crowd, using their sharpened swords, they were in some cases individually recognised by those at whom they struck. As we approach the date of Peterloo, the confidence reposed in the volunteer cavalry by the authorities becomes even more apparent, and

about a month before the event the Commander of the Cheshire Yeomanry received orders to hold his regiment in readiness at a moment's notice to aid the civil power.

Meanwhile the magistrates complained to the Home Secretary that as the law stood they were "unable to interfere with the meetings of the Reformers, notwithstanding their decided conviction of their mischief and danger," and that "upon this most important point they were unarmed". These are the very words which Mr. J. C. Hobhouse took as his text in the able letter to Lord Castlereagh mentioned above.

THE DRILLINGS.

We come, lastly, to another phase of the agitation, which was strongly developed not long before Peterloo, and—being undoubtedly misunderstood—gave the authorities some anxiety: the Reformers began to hold meetings on the moors and elsewhere for drill in squads. Bamford has left a very graphic account of these "drilling parties," as he calls them. He emphasises the fact that there were "no armed meetings," "no concealed meetings," or "anything of the sort". His explanation of the object of the drills—and there seems to be no reason why the explanation should not be accepted—is as follows: "It was deemed expedient that the meeting on the 16th of August should be as morally effective as possible, and that it should exhibit a spectacle such as had never before been witnessed in England. We had frequently been taunted in the public press with our ragged, dirty appearance at these assemblages; with the confusion of our proceedings, and the moblike crowds in which our numbers were mustered; and we determined that for once, at least, these reflections should not be deserved—that we would disarm the bitterness of our political opponents by a display of cleanliness, sobriety, and decorum such as we never before had exhibited. . . . We obtained by these drilling parties all we sought or thought of—an expertness and order while moving in bodies."

It is certainly true that this was the effect of the drilling; the order with which the various contingents approached the rendezvous on the fateful day was commended alike by friend and foe; in fact one of the magistrates afterwards stated on oath that it was not until he saw "the party come on the field in beautiful order that he became

alarmed". It is easy for those of us who know the beautiful green uplands to which Bamford refers, to believe his statement that "to the sedentary weavers and spinners these drillings on the open moors were periods of healthful exercise and enjoyment". His description of them is one of the most charming passages in all his writings; and surely it is a happy coincidence that the centenary of Peterloo should see the Tandle Hills—the very hills he describes—thrown open to the public for ever.

The authorities saw fit to take quite another view of the drills. On the very day before the event of Peterloo a large meeting for such exercises was held on White Moss, near Middleton, very early in the morning, and a few men who were there for purposes of espionage, and who afterwards reported to the magistrates, were very roughly handled by the operatives. Bamford does not hesitate to say that the rough treatment accorded to these spies "probably eradicated from the minds of the magistrates and our opponents whatever sentiments of indulgence they may hitherto have retained towards us". This was on the day preceding Peterloo; on the day following the event the magistrates met and denounced the meetings for drill as "contrary to law".

THE STORY OF PETERLOO.

The great meeting planned to be held in St. Peter's fields on the 9th of August, 1819, seems to have originated in a desire on the part of the Reformers of the Manchester district to emulate the example set by other towns in the country, notably that of London and Birmingham, where great gatherings brought together to advocate Reform had been addressed by Mr. Henry Hunt, and other leaders in the movement for the better representation of the working classes. The advertisement which appeared in the "Manchester Observer" for the 31st of July, 1819, ran: "The Public are respectfully informed that a meeting will be held here on Monday, the 9th of August, 1819, on the area near St. Peter's Church, to take into consideration the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining Radical Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, being fully convinced that nothing less can remove the intolerable evils under which the People of this Country have so long, and do still, groan; and also to consider the propriety of the Unrepresented Inhabitants of Manchester electing a Person to

represent them in Parliament, and the adopting Major Cartwright's Bill. H. Hunt in the chair."

On the very next day the "Manchester Chronicle," a superior Tory organ, published a letter from Lord Sidmouth to the Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire emphasising the need for the utmost vigilance on the part of the magistrates on account of the frequent public meetings, and desiring him to give immediate directions to the several Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry to hold themselves in readiness to attend to any call for support and assistance they may receive from the bench.

A week later the magistrates proclaimed the proposed meeting to be illegal. The Reformers accordingly decided to take the advice of counsel, and Mr. Saxton, sub-editor of the "Observer," was commissioned to proceed to Liverpool and seek legal advice in the matter. He returned with the important ruling, "that the intention of choosing Representatives, contrary to the existing law, tends greatly to render the proposed meeting seditious". Accepting this ruling, the Reformers at once abandoned the meeting and carefully revised their programme. Accordingly, on the 7th of August, the "Observer" published a notice to the effect that the Boroughreeve and Constables [i.e. the three main officials of the Court Leet] had been requested by 700 persons to summon a meeting "to consider the propriety of adopting the most *legal* and *effectual* means of obtaining Reform in the Commons House of Parliament," and had declined to do so. Notice was therefore given (over the signatures of nearly 1300 inhabitants) that a meeting would be held in St. Peter's fields on Monday, the 16th of August, and that Mr. Henry Hunt would take the chair at 12 o'clock.

A week later, on the 14th of August, the "Observer" contained a long letter from Henry Hunt, dated from Smedley Cottage, where he was the guest of Mr. Johnson, urging the importance of the Reformers exhibiting "a steady, firm, and temperate deportment," and bringing with them "no other weapon than that of an approving conscience". According to the "Chronicle" there was an influx of strangers on the Saturday and Sunday preceding the eventful Monday. The same paper speaks of "painful anticipation" on the Sunday as to "how the following day would terminate". The general opinion on 'Change on the Saturday was that the magistrates had decided not to disturb the meeting, unless some breach of the peace occurred, and men of all

parties said that the meeting would go off quietly. No disturbance of any kind took place in Manchester on Sunday, the 15th of August.

It was a grand opportunity for a man with *vision*; but the responsible authorities—i.e. the special Committee of the magistrates of Lancashire and Cheshire (which included three clergymen) meeting in Manchester—seem to have been in a panic. They sat till midnight on Sunday without being able to decide what to do. At 11 p.m. one of them wrote to the Home Secretary that although the magistrates, as then advised, did not then think of preventing the meeting, they were alarmed, and were in a state of painful uncertainty.

The long-expected day came at last. The morning was fine, and later on the heat was considerable. In Manchester the magistrates saw fit to publish a notice recommending the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants to remain in their own houses during the whole day, and to keep their children and servants within doors. The Rev. Jeremiah Smith, then the High Master of the Free Grammar School, afterwards stated at the Trial that most of the shop windows were closed, and that as there was a general feeling of apprehension, he dismissed his day boys after breakfast, and eventually went home and locked himself and his boarders into his house in Long Millgate—the very house from which the boy De Quincey had slipped away “in the deep lustre of a cloudless July morning,” not twenty years before.

As early as nine in the morning people began to assemble in St. Peter's fields. The magistrates met first at the Star Inn and at eleven o'clock adjourned to the house of Mr. Buxton in Mount Street. By this time the troops employed had been posted out of sight in the streets lying just off the open space where the gathering was held. Their disposition seems to have been as follows: one troop of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry was concealed in Pickford's yard, off Portland Street, another troop seems to have been in Byrom Street; their commander was Major Trafford, but the first troop seems to have been led on this occasion by Hugh Birley, who only a few years before had opposed the new Corn Law. The Cheshire Yeomanry, in their full strength of eight troops, i.e. at least 400 men, had assembled on Sale moor at 9 a.m. and arrived at their assigned station in St. John Street soon after eleven; two squadrons of the 15th Hussars (i.e. over 300 men) were in Byrom Street and a troop of the same regiment was in Lower Mosley Street, acting as escort to a troop of

the Royal Horse Artillery with two long six-pounders ; the guns thus commanded the principal approach to the area. The above are the mounted troops ; besides these nearly the whole of the 31st Infantry were concealed in Brasenose Street ; and several companies of the 88th Infantry were "in ambush" in the neighbourhood of Dickinson Street ; the names of the commanders of all these detachments are given, and the whole force was under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange.

The hustings, which consisted of two carts and some boards, were erected just below Windmill Street, about 100 yards from Mount Street. The speakers faced northwards, towards the Friends' meeting house, close to which was the Friends' school. Here, near a few oak trees, a quantity of loose timber was lying about, of which we shall hear later on. It was about twelve o'clock when a strong double cordon of several hundred special constables was drawn between Mr. Buxton's house in Mount Street and the hustings. They formed a lane by which, if necessary, the magistrates could communicate with the speakers.

THE PROCESSIONS FROM THE OUTLYING DISTRICTS.

We must now turn to the districts³ outside Manchester, where preparations were early afoot for the great meeting. Detachments of Reformers were streaming along the main roads towards Manchester, with bands playing and banners flying, and caps of liberty held aloft. These were red peaked caps, of Phrygian shape, and had been used as symbols by the Revolutionists in France. The cap is supposed to have been employed as a symbol² of the manumission of a slave in Roman times.

We have actual details of several of these processions—the Middleton, Royton, and Chadderton parties, the Rochdale section, the Saddleworth troop, the Oldham¹ group, and those from Stockport, from Pendleton, from Ashton, and from Bury. The march of the Middleton and Rochdale detachments is graphically described by Bamford, who led the first, the whole contingent numbering, according to his estimate, about 6000 men, [with numbers of women and children.

By 8 a.m. all Middleton was astir. The procession was arranged

with a band of youths in front wearing laurels, then came representatives of the various districts, five abreast, then the band and the colours. These bore the inscriptions : " Unity and Strength " ; " Liberty and Fraternity " ; " Parliaments Annual " ; " Suffrage Universal ". A crimson velvet cap inscribed " Libertas " was carried among the banners. Then came, five abreast, the delegates from eighteen different districts. At the sound of a bugle, some 3000 formed a hollow square and Bamford addressed them, enjoining them to be steadfast and serious, not to offer resistance if their leaders were arrested, and to lay aside their sticks. This last injunction Bamford communicated to them, in accordance with general orders, somewhat against his will. He speaks of his contingent as " a most respectable assemblage of labouring men, all decently, though humbly, attired ". " My address," he adds, " was received with cheers ; it was heartily and unanimously assented to ; we opened into column—the music struck up—the banners flashed in the sunlight—other music was heard—it was that of the Rochdale party, coming to join us—we met—and a shout from 10,000 startled the echoes of the woods and dingles. Then all was quiet save the breath of music ; and with intent seriousness we went on ". The party included some hundreds of married women and several hundred girls, who danced and sang. " And thus, accompanied by our friends, and our dearest and most tender associations, we went slowly towards Manchester ". We may stand by Bamford's monument in Middleton churchyard to-day, and looking down the hill, picture the scene. On the monument are inscribed these words of John Bright : " Bamford was a Reformer when to be so was unsafe, and he suffered for his faith ".

Leaving these, we turn to the Oldham contingent. They met on the village green, Bent Grange, at nine, and were there joined by the Chadderton section. The Chadderton banner is still in existence. It was made of white and green silk, measured about 12 feet by 9 feet, and bore the usual mottoes of the Reformers. The Royton section carried two banners of red and green silk. The second is of special interest ; it was inscribed " The Royton Female Union—Let us DIE like Men and Not be Sold like Slaves ". It was afterwards captured by the Cheshire Yeomanry and was produced as " evidence " against the Reformers in the Trial at York in the following year. The most beautiful of all the banners was said to be one of white silk carried by

the Oldham people. But the banner which furnished the most important "evidence" in the Trial at York was a black one carried in the procession of the Saddleworth, Lees, and Mossley Union. It was inscribed: "Equal Representation or Death," "Unite and be Free," "No Boroughmongering," "Taxation without Representation is Unjust and Tyrannical," and it bore figures of Justice holding the scales and two hands clasped. After the lapse of a century the talk of the terrible danger hidden behind this banner, on the part of counsel at the Trial and public speakers elsewhere, may appear somewhat ludicrous. The Oldham and Royton colours were escorted by some 200 women dressed in white. The procession was joined later by the Failsworth Radicals. Altogether there seem to have been sixteen banners displayed at the meeting, with five caps of liberty.

As the contingents approached Manchester, horsemen rode out in various directions to meet them and returned to report to the assembled magistrates. One of these scouts was Mr. Francis Phillips. In his "Exposure" he tells how he rode "along the turnpike road leading to Stockport, and at a place called Ardwick Green, about one and a half miles from Manchester Exchange" met a regiment of Reformers marching in file, principally three deep. This column, 1400 or 1500 strong, "marched extremely well, observing the step though without music". It included about forty women, and the colours were handsome and inscribed "No Corn Laws" and "Universal Suffrage". Mr. Phillips is careful to add: "Nearly half of the men carried stout sticks". He slipped back to Manchester by another road and reported these facts to the magistrates. Immediately afterwards the column carried its colours into St. Peter's fields, and Phillips then took up his station in the cordon of special constables. From the evidence at the Trials we obtain details of the Bury contingent, five abreast and 3000 strong, with many women, and of that from Pendleton; and the Rev. Edward Stanley tells how he met the Reformers from Ashton.

Mr. Archibald Prentice, standing at a window, watched the crowd stream down Mosley Street. "I never," he says, "saw a gayer spectacle. There were haggard-looking men, certainly, but the majority were young persons, in their best Sunday suits, and the light-coloured dresses of the cheerful, tidy-looking women relieved the effect of the dark fustians worn by the men. The 'marching order,' of which so much was said afterwards, was what we often see now in the processions

of Sunday School children and Temperance Societies. To our eyes the numerous flags seemed to have been brought to add to the picturesque effect of the pageant. Slowly and orderly the multitude took their places round the hustings. Our party laughed at the fears of the magistrates, and the remark was that if the men intended mischief they would not have brought their wives or their children with them. I passed round the outskirts of the meeting and mingled with the groups that stood chattering there. I occasionally asked the women if they were not afraid to be there, and the usual laughing reply was : 'What have we to be afraid of ?'

Mr. John Benjamin Smith, who watched the meeting from a window in Mrs. Orton's house, next door to Mr. Buxton's in Mount Street, says : "We reached there about eleven-thirty, and on our way saw large bodies of men and women with bands playing, flags and banners bearing devices. There were crowds of people in all directions, full of humour, laughing and shouting and making fun. It seemed to be a gala day with the country people, who were mostly dressed in their best, and brought with them their wives, and when I saw boys and girls taking their father's hands in the procession, I observed to my aunt : 'These are the guarantee of their peaceful intentions, we need have no fears,' and so we passed on to Mrs. Orton's house."

For two hours the Yeomanry and Hussars remained at their stations dismounted. Occasionally a few of the officers would ride up to Deansgate to watch the procession. One of them writes : "During the greater portion of that period a solid mass of people moved along the street. They marched at a brisk pace, with ranks well closed up, five or six bands of music being interspersed. Mr. Hunt was in an open carriage, adorned with flags and drawn by the people. As soon as the great bulk of the procession had passed, we were ordered to stand to our horses."

Manchester at that time was the mere nucleus of the Manchester of to-day. Districts which now lie well within its boundaries were then outlying villages. Even in the heart of the city several of the main thoroughfares familiar to us did not then exist. Market Street was still a mere winding lane, in places only five yards broad from building to building ; the Bill for widening and straightening this thoroughfare was passed just two years after Peterloo. The present Corporation Street and Victoria Street did not exist, and Deansgate



"ORATOR" HUNT, 1773-1835
CHAIRMAN OF THE PETERLOO MEETING

had not been widened. The pavements in places were only 18 inches wide, and several accidents occurred on the day of Peterloo from falls into the cellars which were then used as living rooms. Bearing in mind these facts, it is easy to follow the various contingents as they converged towards St. Peter's fields, the principal procession being that of the chairman.

Henry Hunt was a country gentleman of Wiltshire, whose personal characteristics made him specially successful as a demagogue, and there is no doubt that he was perfectly sincere. Bamford, whose admiration for him waned in later years, describes him as "gentlemanly in his manner and attire, six feet and better in height, and extremely well formed". The white hat which he wore became the symbol of Radicalism. He was shrewd, quick at repartee, and had the copious flow of highly-coloured language which delights a crowd. He was exceptionally clever in handling a great gathering, and was always scrupulously careful to keep within the strict letter of the law. His vanity we can forgive, for he rendered yeoman service to the cause of Liberty, but his private life, the details of which are told with almost brutal candour by himself in his "Memoirs," will not bear inspection. Of his political record he has no reason to be ashamed. He presented the earliest petition to Parliament for Women's Suffrage; he fought the battle of Reform in its darkest days; and he attacked the first Reform Bill, demanding the Ballot, Universal Suffrage, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. He has been compared in some respects to Wilkes. "As a practical Reformer he failed because he never understood the place of compromise in politics, but he was a shrewd and far-seeing ideologue and a splendid political gladiator." Whatever may be the correct estimate of him there is no doubt that at the time we are considering he was the object of boundless admiration on the part of the Reformers, who simply idolised him. After he was bailed at Lancaster, pending his trial, he was accorded a triumphal procession through Lancashire to Manchester, and in London he was cheered to the echo by enormous crowds.

The contingents from Middleton and Rochdale, led by Samuel Bamford, were approaching Collyhurst, when a message reached them from Hunt, directing them to come by way of Newton and head his procession from Smedley Cottage. This they did, but taking a wrong turn at the top of Shude Hill, they led down Swan Street, Oldham

Street, and Mosley Street, and swept round the left-hand corner, i.e. the south side of St. Peter's church into "a wide unbuilt space, occupied by an immense multitude, which opened and received them with loud cheers". Hunt's procession, meanwhile, took the route down Shude Hill, and—Corporation Street not being in existence—wound round Hanging Ditch, Old Millgate, the Market Place, and St. Mary's Gate into Deansgate, whence it emerged along the fragment of Peter Street and made for the hustings.

On the box-seat of the carriage in which Hunt rode sat Mrs. Mary Fildes, carrying a white silk flag as the president of the "Manchester Female Reformers". Mrs. Banks, in a note in the Appendix to her "Manchester Man," states that this Mrs. Fildes was personally known to her. In her story she represents her as sabred at the hustings. We have already referred to the Female Reformers of Royton, and their banner of red and green silk. The Female Reformers of Manchester also had their banner and had planned to present it to Mr. Hunt after the meeting, with an address stating that "as wives, mothers, daughters, in their social, domestic, moral capacities, they came forward in the sacred cause of liberty, a cause in which their husbands, their fathers, and their sons had embarked the last hope of a suffering humanity". Still more interesting is the pathetic appeal which these Female Reformers of Manchester, who were well organised, issued before the meeting to "the Wives, Mothers, Sisters, and Daughters of the higher and middle classes of Society," describing the terrible privations which had made the petitioners "sick of life, and weary of a world where poverty, wretchedness, tyranny, and injustice had so long been allowed to reign among men"; and imploring these more favoured ladies to come forward and join hands with them in the struggle for Reform. The Committee of the Manchester Female Reformers, dressed in white, walked behind Hunt's carriage. They afterwards sent messages of sympathy to him, during his imprisonment in Ilchester jail. "Our tyrants," they said, "have immured you in a dungeon; but we have enshrined you in our hearts". On the expiration of his term, they presented to him a silver urn, suitably inscribed.

The woman on the box-seat was afterwards confused by the magistrates, in their Report to the Home Secretary, with a Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt, who was found in the carriage, after the meeting, in



THE HUNT MEMORIAL IN THE VESTIBULE OF THE MANCHESTER
REFORM CLUB

a fainting condition. Taylor was quick to seize upon this instance of what he ironically termed "official accuracy". This poor woman had been wounded by the cavalry. She was nevertheless arrested, and confined for over a week at the New Bailey, when "the Court had great pleasure in ordering her immediate discharge".

As the carriage made its way across the square—Mr. Hunt standing up—a great shout arose from a crowd whose numbers have been variously estimated (Mr. Hunt told a London audience afterwards that there were 150,000 !), but we shall probably not be far wrong if we put the figure at 60,000. Well might Bamford describe the scene as "solemnly impressive". Arrived at the hustings Hunt was at once voted to the chair, and taking off his white hat, he began his address.

We have abundant material to enable us to reconstruct the scene. Along part of the upper side of Windmill Street ran a row of houses. In front of these, on the slightly rising ground, stood a number of spectators, and the dense crowd reached from Windmill Street back towards the Friends' meeting house on the north. Mount Street was bounded then on the east by a row of houses reaching, perhaps, one-third of the way along the present Midland hotel ; the crowd did not reach right up to these houses, and there were stragglers in the intervening space. It was in this intervening space that the Manchester Yeomanry reined up later on as they arrived. Above the heads of the crowd, at intervals, could be seen the various banners and caps of liberty. Mr. Hunt and the other speakers were standing on the simple hustings facing northwards. The magistrates were watching the proceedings from a window on the first floor of the house of Mr. Buxton in Mount Street. At the window of the room immediately above them stood the Rev. Edward Stanley, Rector of Alderley, an unintentional but keenly observant spectator of every detail. At one of the windows of the adjoining house stood Mr. J. B. Smith. All around, in the side streets, but not visible from St. Peter's fields, were posted the regular troops and the yeomanry, and mounted messengers for communication with them were in attendance at the magistrates' house. Among the representatives of the Press were Mr. John Tyas, for the London "Times," Mr. Edward Baines for the "Leeds Mercury," and Mr. John Smith for the "Liverpool Mercury". Purely as a guess, we should be inclined to conjecture that the last of the three may have been the author of the anonymous "Impartial Narrative".

The magistrates had at length come to a decision of some kind. If a few of the inhabitants of the town would put their names to a statement to the effect that they considered that the town was endangered by the meeting, that would justify them in arresting the leaders. Accordingly, Richard Owen and some thirty others, including Mr. Phillips, signed the necessary affidavit, and a warrant in accordance with it was drawn up, stating that "Richard Owen had made oath that Henry Hunt and others had arrived in a car at the area near St. Peter's church, that an immense mob had assembled, and that he considered the town in danger". Referring to this strange mode of procedure afterwards Sir Francis Burdett said: "If arrests are to follow opinions which may find a place in other men's heads, there is an end to Liberty". However weak their action may appear to us to-day, it was on this ground that Nadin, the Deputy constable, was instructed by the magistrates to go and interrupt a great peaceful meeting by arresting the leaders. Nadin assured them that even with the hundreds of special constables at his disposal he could not carry out the arrests without the assistance of the military. Hunt had only been speaking for a minute or two, therefore, when riders were dispatched for the troops. It is difficult to understand why a single message was not sent to Lieut. Colonel L'Estrange, who was in command of the whole force. By a strange fatality the magistrates, at the same instant that they sent for Colonel L'Estrange, despatched a horseman to Pickford's yard for the troop of Manchester Yeomanry concealed there, which they had chosen to retain under their own control. The message, which was produced at the Trial, was as follows: "To the Commanding Officer, Portland Street: Sir: As Chairman of the Select Committee of Magistrates, I request you to proceed immediately to Number 6, Mount Street, where the Magistrates are assembled. They conceive the civil power wholly inadequate to preserve the peace. I have the honour, etc., William Hulton." At the moment that this letter was sent, Mr. Hunt was, in an orderly manner, addressing a perfectly peaceful meeting of some 60,000 men, women, and children.

Judging from what followed, Colonel L'Estrange seems to have made a skilful disposition of the forces at his disposal, closing in the infantry on the square from several points, while he himself led the Hussars and the Cheshire Yeomanry by a rather circuitous route, viz., along Deansgate as far as Fleet Street (a street which then ran paral-

led to Great Bridgwater Street, on the site of the present Central Station), then along Fleet Street, and so up Lower Mosley Street, where the artillery were posted, to Windmill Street.

Meanwhile the troop of Manchester Yeomanry stationed in Pickford's yard had lost no time in obeying their summons, and not having so far to go, they were easily first on the spot. They came along Nicholas Street and down Cooper Street. As they advanced along this street "at a tolerably brisk pace," a woman, carrying her two-year-old child in her arms, watched them pass, and then attempted to cross the street. Just at the moment, one of the Yeomanry who had been kept behind, came past "at a hand-gallop". The woman was knocked down and stunned; the child was thrown several yards, fell on its head, and was killed. This was the first casualty. The sworn affidavits to this incident may be read in the "Hunt Memorial" papers at the Manchester Reform Club. We shall see in a moment that a woman was involved in the second casualty also.

The whole fortune of the day turned on what happened in the few minutes that followed. It must be remembered that the troop of Manchester Yeomanry that arrived on the scene first was a local levy formed not long before, for the purpose of aiding the civil power, and consisted largely of local tradesmen, who seem to have been stung by the taunts levelled at them by the labouring classes, whom they were intended to intimidate. There is no doubt that their horses were not under control and that they were therefore not qualified for the difficult task before them. A mere handful of trained mounted troops properly directed, can, by feints, by backing, by rearing, and by skilful manoeuvres, break up and move a large crowd without injury to anyone. All parties are agreed that the Yeomanry halted in disorder. Even Hunt noticed that and remarked upon it, though he was a hundred yards away. On this point we have the clear testimony of the chairman of the magistrates, Mr. Hulton, who in his evidence at the Trial said that "their horses being raw, and unused to the field, they appeared to him to be in a certain degree of confusion". Mr. Stanley, again, says: "They halted in great disorder, and so continued for the few minutes they remained. This disorder was attributed by several persons in the room to the undisciplined state of their horses, little accustomed to act together, and probably frightened by the shout of the populace which greeted their arrival." It is impossible to avoid

asking whether the whole story might not have been a different one, if these undisciplined irregular troops had been held back, and the 15th Hussars—men who were wearing their Waterloo medals, won only four years before—had been employed instead. For be it remembered that up to this moment the magistrates had no intention of using troops to disperse the meeting—that was emphatically stated by Mr. Hulton at the Trial—their decision was to arrest the leaders, and they seem to have anticipated that when that was done, the meeting would disperse of itself, as had happened under exactly similar circumstances at the meeting of Blanketeers.

THE CHARGE OF THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY.

As it was, the Yeomanry wheeled and, accompanied by the deputy constable, rode through the crowd towards the hustings. Stanley marks them on his plan as starting from a point apparently not far from the entrance to the present Association Hall in Mount Street and riding (as his arrows show) straight for the platform. As they did so they left something behind them on the ground. It was the body of a woman. Stanley marks the exact spot where this body lay, apparently lifeless, through the subsequent proceedings, after which it was carried into the house. This was the second casualty. The Yeomanry entered the crowd to the right of the cordon of special constables, but one of the special constables was killed also.

Stanley's account is as follows: "Hunt began his address. I could distinctly hear his voice. He had not spoken above a minute or two before the cavalry were sent for—the messengers, we were told, might be seen from a back window. I ran to that window from which I could see the road leading to a timber yard (I believe) at no great distance, where, as I entered the town, I had observed the Manchester Yeomanry stationed. I saw three horsemen riding off, one towards the timber yard, the others in the direction which I knew led to the cantonments of other cavalry. I immediately returned to the front window, anxiously awaiting the result. A slight commotion amongst a body of spectators, chiefly women, who occupied a mound of raised broken ground on the left and to the rear of the orators [the reference is to Windmill Street; Stanley admitted at the Trial that he had not heard the name], convinced me that they saw something which ex-

cited their fears. Many jumped down and they soon dispersed more rapidly. By this time the alarm was quickly spreading and I heard several voices exclaiming : ‘ The soldiers ! the soldiers ! ’ ”

It is possible that this alarm may have been due to a skilful movement of the infantry in Dickinson Street on the other side of the square, which seems to have taken place at this moment. A witness at the Oldham inquest speaks of “ a movement of the people near Windmill Hill. I saw the 88th formed into line, and supposed the movement on the Windmill occasioned by the junction of the 88th. The regiment formed into a sort of crescent, which prevented me from moving either way. I could not get away by any exertion. The regiment prevented persons getting either way ”. This is an excellent illustration of the manner in which troops skilfully handled can be used to baffle and break up a crowd.

We return to Stanley’s narrative : “ Another moment brought the cavalry into the field on a gallop, which they continued till the word was given for halting them. They halted in great disorder, and so continued for the few minutes they remained. Hunt had evidently seen their approach, his hand had been pointed towards them and it was clear from his gestures that he was addressing the mob respecting them.”

As a matter of fact Hunt’s words, which Stanley could not hear, were : “ Stand firm my friends ! you see they are in disorder already. This is a trick. Give them three cheers.” Bamford also shouted : “ Stand fast ! they are riding upon us : Stand fast ! ” We are reminded involuntarily of Shelley’s lines, written so far away yet with such striking intuition :—

Let the horsemen’s scimitars
Wheel and flash, like sphereless stars
Thirsting to eclipse their burning
In a sea of death and mourning.

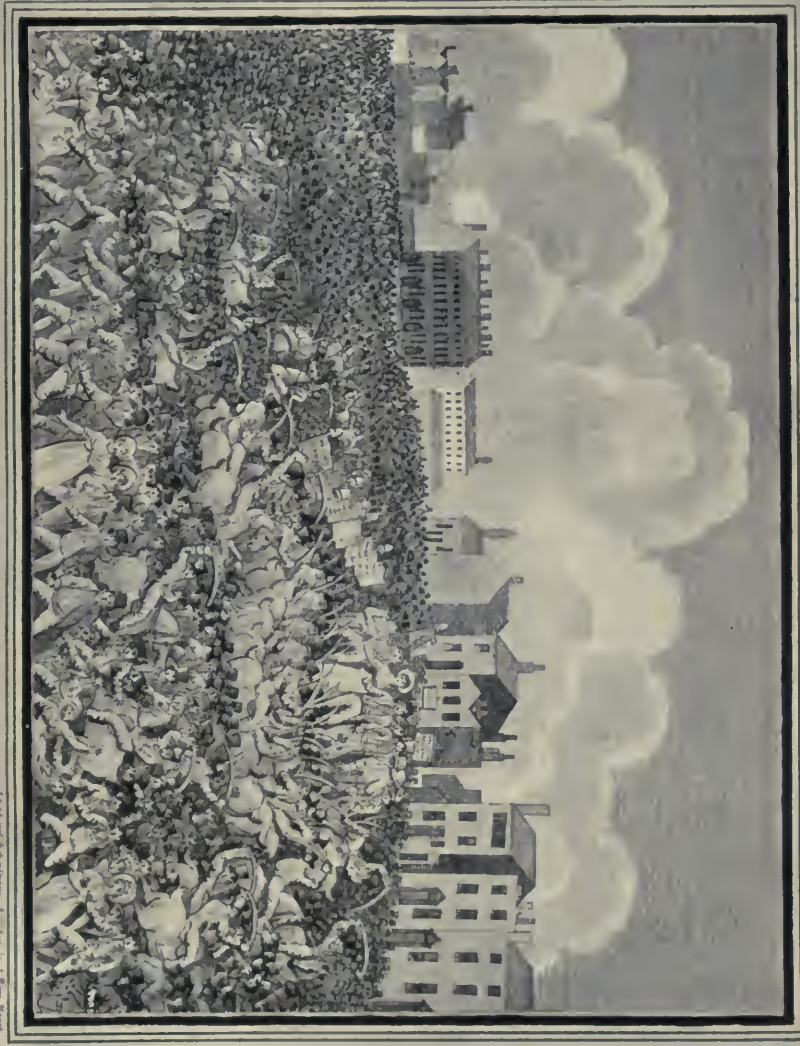
Stand ye calm and resolute
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war.

Stanley continues : “ Hunt’s words, whatever they were, excited a shout from those immediately about him which was re-echoed with fearful animation by the rest of the multitude. Ere that had subsided

the cavalry, the loyal spectators, and the special constables cheered loudly in return, and a pause ensued of about a minute or two. An officer and some few others then advanced rather in front of the troop, formed, as I before said, in much disorder, and with scarcely the semblance of a line, their sabres glistened in the air, and on they went direct for the hustings. At first, and for a few paces, their movement was not rapid, and there was some show of an attempt to follow their officer in regular succession, five or six abreast ; but as Mr. Francis Phillips in his pamphlet observes, they soon 'increased their speed,' and with a zeal and ardour which might naturally be expected from men acting with delegated power against a foe by whom it is understood they had long been insulted with taunts of cowardice, continued their course, seeming individually to vie with each other which should be first.

"As the cavalry approached the dense mass of people they used their utmost efforts to escape, but so closely were they pressed in opposite directions by the soldiers, the special constables, the position of the hustings, and their own immense numbers that immediate escape was impossible. The rapid course of the troop was, of course, impeded when it came in contact with the mob, but a passage was forced in less than a minute—so rapid, indeed, was it that the guard of constables close to the hustings shared the fate of the rest. On their arrival at the hustings a scene of dreadful confusion ensued. The orators fell, or were forced off the scaffold in quick succession ; fortunately for them, the stage being rather elevated, they were in great degree beyond the reach of the many swords which gleamed around them." In a footnote Stanley adds : "from the moment they began to force their way through the crowd towards the hustings, swords were up and swords were down, but whether they fell with the sharp or flat side I cannot, of course, pretend to give an opinion". Lieutenant Jolliffe decides this point for us when he says : "The Hussars drove the people forward with the flats of their swords ; but sometimes, as is almost inevitably the case when men are placed in such situations, the edge was used, both by the Hussars and by the Yeomanry".

What actually happened at the hustings we know from the account given in the London "Times" by Tyas, who was present, and was himself taken into custody. "The officer who commanded the detachment," says "The Times," "went up to Mr. Hunt and said,



A VIEW OF MANCHESTER FROM THE FREE TRADING HALL

A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE SHOWING THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY RIDING FOR THE HUSTINGS

The houses on the right are in Windmill Street; the row on the left is in Mount Street. The hustings and the crowd to the right of the picture are on the site of the Free Trade Hall. The corner of the garden wall on the extreme left is on the site of the corner of the Midland Hotel. On the hustings we may distinguish Hunt and the President of the Manchester Female Reformers

brandishing his sword : ' Sir, I have a warrant against you, and arrest you as my prisoner '. Mr. Hunt, after exhorting the people to tranquillity in a few words, turned round to the officer and said : ' I willingly surrender myself to any civil officer who will show me his warrant '. Nadin, the police officer, then came forward and said : ' I will arrest you : I have got information upon oath against you '. The same formality was gone through with Mr. Johnson. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson then leaped from the waggon and surrendered themselves to the civil power." Stanley, who was a hundred yards away, says : " Hunt fell, or threw himself, amongst the constables, and was driven or dragged as fast as possible down the avenue which communicated with the magistrates' house ; his associates were hurried after him in a similar manner. By this time so much dust had arisen that no accurate account can be given of what further took place at that particular spot. The square was now covered with the flying multitude, though still in parts the banners and caps of liberty were surrounded by groups."

All this was the work of a few minutes, and meanwhile the other troops had had time to arrive. Before we follow these into the crowd, it is right that we should listen to three other accounts of the charge of the Yeomanry. " The cavalry were in confusion," says Bamford, " they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse penetrate that compact mass of human beings ; and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands, and defenceless heads ; and then chopped limbs, and wound-gaping skulls were seen ; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion. ' Ah ! ah ! for shame ! for shame ! ' was shouted. Then ' Break ! break ! they are killing them in front, and they cannot get away ' ; and there was a general cry of ' Break ! break ! ' For a moment the crowd held back as in a pause ; then there was a rush, heavy and resistless as a headlong sea, and a sound like low thunder, with screams, prayers, and imprecations from the crowd-moiled, and sabre-doomed, who could not escape." Bamford here does not distinguish between the charge of the Manchester Yeomanry and the charge of the Hussars, which followed a few minutes later. It was the latter that caused the " rush " of which he speaks. Though he was a man of five foot ten, and " stood on tiptoe " (as he tells us), he could not, being in the crowd, see everything. Stanley says emphatically :

"No spectator on the ground could possibly form a correct and just idea of what was passing". He cites this as one explanation of the varying accounts and contradictory statements.

Hunt, who had himself ridden in the Wiltshire Yeomanry, thus describes the charge in his "Memoirs": "Before the cheering was sufficiently ended to enable me to raise my voice again, the word was given, and from the left flank of the troops, the trumpeter leading the way, they charged amongst the people, sabring right and left, in all directions, sparing neither age, sex, nor rank. In this manner they cut their way up to the hustings, riding over and sabring all that could not get out of their way."

Finally, let us hear the officer speak who led the charge in person. At the Royal Birthday festivities in Manchester on the 29th of April, 1820, Colonel Hugh Birley, in replying to the toast of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, made a lengthy speech, in which he complained bitterly of the obloquy and outcry levelled against them, "which we should have been more or less than men not to feel". Speaking of the charge into the crowd, he said: "I observed as I approached the stage a movement in the crowd about the spot from which all accounts agree in stating that the first attack was made upon the Yeomanry. That movement appeared to be intended to throw an obstacle in the way of our advance. Up to that moment the Boroughreeve had walked by my side, but I then quickened my pace in order to prevent an interruption. There was ample space for a front of six men wherever we passed, but I am assured by those who formed the first rank of six that they were obliged to break off into single file before they reached the stage. The mob must therefore have closed in immediately behind the officers who led the squadron." He goes on to speak of the Yeomanry's dash for the flags, which is mentioned below. He does not attempt to deny that it took place; but there is no object in quoting further from an *apologia* which at the best is a very lame affair.

The arrival of the other troops is thus described in the "Manchester Chronicle": "Immediately the Cheshire Yeomanry galloped on the ground; to them succeeded the 15th Hussars, and the Royal Artillery train; while all the various detachments of infantry also advanced". Stanley has this footnote on the infantry: "on quitting the ground I for the first time observed that strong bodies of infantry

were posted in the streets on opposite sides of the square ; their appearance might probably have increased the alarm, and would certainly have impeded the progress of a mob wishing to retreat in either of these directions. When I saw them they were resting on their arms, and I believe they remained stationary, taking no part in the proceedings". In his plan Stanley shows the Cheshire Yeomanry halting between Windmill Street and the hustings, and the 15th Hussars halting in front of Mount Street, about opposite to the present Midland Buffet. He says : " The Manchester Yeomanry had already taken possession of the hustings when the Cheshire Yeomanry entered on my left in excellent order, and formed in the rear of the hustings, as well as could be expected considering the crowds who were now pressing in all directions and filling up the space hitherto partially occupied. The 15th Dragoons appeared nearly at the same moment and paused rather than halted on our left and parallel to the row of houses."

THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY IN DIFFICULTIES.

We have now arrived at the most dramatic moment in the whole story, and it may be well to review the situation before coming to the fateful decision which completed the tragedy. One troop of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry (perhaps consisting of fifty or sixty men) was now practically enveloped in the huge crowd. So serious did Mr. Hulton consider their case to be that he stated at the Trial that he " saw what appeared to be a general resistance . . . the Manchester Yeomanry he conceived to be completely defeated . . . his idea of their danger arose from his seeing sticks flourished in the air as well as brickbats thrown about". We have also, however, the testimony of an officer of Regulars as to the situation. Lieutenant Sir W. Jolliffe, who afterwards charged the crowd with the Hussars, says : " the Manchester Yeomanry were scattered in small groups over the greater part of the field, literally hemmed up and wedged into the mob, so that they were powerless either to make an impression or to escape ; in fact, *they were in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe* ; and it required only a glance to discover their helpless position and the necessity of our being brought to the rescue".

There are two points on which the evidence is hopelessly conflicting : the first is the question of the use of missiles by the crowd.

There is no method of discussing the question except that of quoting the various testimonies. Mr. Hulton stated that his reason for thinking the Yeomanry in danger was that he saw sticks flourished in the air and brickbats thrown about, and "that he saw what appeared to be a general resistance". He afterwards said at the Trial: "I have not stated that bricks and stones were levelled at the Yeomanry and I can't swear it. They were thrown in defiance of the military." Mr. Stanley, on the other hand, says: "I saw nothing that gave me an idea of resistance, except in one or two spots where they showed some disinclination to abandon their banners; these impulses, however, were but momentary; their sticks, as far as came under my observation, were ordinary walking sticks. I have heard from the most respectable authority that the cavalry were assailed by stones during the short time they halted previous to their charge. I do not wish to contradict positive assertions. What a person sees must be true. My evidence on that point can only be negative. I certainly saw nothing of the sort, and my eyes were fixed most steadily upon them, and I think that I must have seen any stone larger than a pebble at the short distance at which I stood and with the commanding view I had. *I indeed saw no missile weapons used throughout the whole transaction*; but, as I have before stated, the dust at the hustings soon partially obscured everything that took place near that particular spot, but no doubt the people defended themselves to the best of their power, as it was absolutely impossible for them to get away and give the cavalry a clear passage till the outer part of the mob had fallen back."

Bamford admits that when a number of Middleton people, who were pressed by the Yeomanry, retreated to the timber lying in front of the Friends' Meeting House, they "defended themselves with stones which they found there," and he tells of a young married woman who defended herself here for some time, and at length, being herself wounded, threw "a fragment of a brick" with the result that one of the Yeomanry was "unhorsed and dangerously wounded". This incident is confirmed by the report in the "Chronicle," which runs: "Another Yeomanry man was unhorsed at the same moment, and his life with difficulty saved. This was near the Quakers' meeting-house, where a furious battle raged." The same paper mentions "large stones". At the Trials it was stated in defence of the magistrates that previous to the meeting the town surveyor had carefully cleared the

ground of all stones, but that after it was over a cart load of stones and bricks was picked up.

Mr. Tyas, the reporter for "The Times," says emphatically that when the Yeomanry rode into the crowd "not a brickbat was thrown at them, not a pistol was fired—during this period all was quiet and orderly, as if the cavalry had been the friends of the multitude and had marched as such into the midst of them. As soon as Hunt and Johnson had jumped from the waggon, a cry was made by the cavalry : 'Have at their flags !' In consequence, they immediately dashed, not only at the flags that were in the waggon, but those which were posted among the crowd, cutting most indiscriminately to the right and left in order to get at them. This set the people running in all directions, and *it was not until this act had been committed that any brickbats were hurled at the military.* From that moment the Manchester Yeomanry lost all command of their temper." One of those who held on to his banner till it was struck from his hand, and his shoulder was divided by one of the Manchester Yeomanry (whom he recognised) was the Middleton journeyman, Thomas Redford. Three years later, in 1822, this man sued members of the Manchester Yeomanry for assault at a famous trial which took place at Lancaster.

After the lapse of a century, perhaps we may, while trying to take an impartial view, agree with what Mr. Hobhouse said on this subject in the House of Commons in May, 1821, in supporting Sir Francis Burdett's motion for an inquiry : He "defied proof that the people began it. When once they were attacked, what could you expect ? Were people in the quiet exercise of one of their most undoubted privileges to be unresistingly bayoneted, sabred, trampled underfoot, without raising a hand, or (if the noble lord would allow) without putting their hands in their pockets for the stones they had brought with them ? The Rev. Mr. Stanley, who watched the proceedings from a room above the magistrates, saw no stones or sticks used." The mention of pockets is a reference to a report that some of the crowd wore smocks with large pockets, in which they brought stones to the meeting.

The second question that gave rise to much discussion at the Trials and elsewhere was whether the Riot Act was read before the second body of troops was directed to charge the crowd. It was emphatically stated at the Trial that the Act was read distinctly twice : once

from the magistrates' window. Mr. Stanley, who stood at the window immediately above the magistrates, was closely questioned on this point at the Trial in 1822. He said : " I neither heard it read nor saw it read ". Similar testimony was given by Mr. McKennell, who stood on the steps of Mr. Buxton's house throughout the proceedings. Further discussion of this point is unnecessary because it seems to be fairly generally admitted that if the Riot Act was read (as it may well have been in a perfunctory way) no one whom it concerned had any knowledge of the fact ; and supposing again that it was read, the time that elapsed between the reading of the Act and the charge of the troops was much less than that prescribed by the Act itself.

THE FATEFUL DECISION. THE HUSSARS ORDERED TO CHARGE.

We now return to the scene in St. Peter's fields at the moment when the new troops arrived. Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange, who was in command of the whole, and who had come round into Windmill Street with the 15th Hussars and the Cheshire Yeomanry, halted both, rode up to the house where the magistrates were assembled, and, looking up at the window at which Mr. Hulton (their chairman) was standing, said : " What am I to do ? " Hulton admitted afterwards at the Trial that he did not consult his brother magistrates before replying. " There was not time," he said, " for me to consult my brother magistrates as to sending in more military, but they were with me at the window, and I should certainly conceive they heard me. I did not take the responsibility on myself. They at that moment were expressing fear themselves."

Mr. Hulton's fateful reply to Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange (he repeated it over and over again at the Trials) was as follows : " Good God, sir ! don't you see they are attacking the Yeomanry ? Disperse the meeting."

The scene that followed these words was one that sent a thrill of horror through the whole country—the report of it reached the poet Shelley in Italy, and he says :—

As I lay asleep in Italy,
There came a Voice from over the sea,
And with great power it forth led me
To walk in the Visions of Poesy,

and he wrote his "Mask of Anarchy". Within ten minutes from the time those words were uttered, those who looked down on St. Peter's fields saw an open space, strewn with human beings, some dead, many wounded, numbers of them heaped one upon the other—and a group of horsemen loosening their saddle-girths, arranging their accoutrements, and wiping their sabres, while all round there was a flying multitude, escaping by the side streets, which were guarded by infantry, defending themselves among the timber lying near the Friends' meeting-house, and eventually making their way to the open country, through which they had marched a few hours before, with bands playing, banners flying, and girls dancing and singing, with an exultant feeling of hope that at last something was to be done for their suffering humanity.

We have many pictures of the scene. Stanley says: "The 15th Dragoons pressed forward, crossing the line of constables, which opened to let them through, and bent their course towards the Manchester Yeomanry. The people were now in a state of utter rout and confusion, leaving the ground strewn with hats and shoes, and hundreds were thrown down in the attempt to escape. The cavalry were hurrying about in all directions completing the work of dispersion, which was effected in so short a time as to appear as if done by magic. During the whole of this confusion, heightened at its close by the rattle of some artillery crossing the square, shrieks were heard in all directions, and as the crowd of people dispersed, the effects of the conflict became visible. Some were seen bleeding on the ground, unable to rise; others, less seriously injured, but faint with the loss of blood, were retiring slowly, or leaning upon others for support. The whole of this extraordinary scene was the work of a few minutes." Bamford speaks of "several mounds of human beings remaining where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered". This is fully corroborated by Sir W. Jolliffe, the Lieutenant of the Hussars already quoted, who says: "People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over the other, so that by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the field". Wheeler's "Manchester Chronicle," the principal Tory organ, had the following description on the Saturday following the event:—

"A scene of confusion and terror now existed which defies

description. The multitude pressed one another down, and in many places they lay in masses, piled body upon body. The cries and mingled shouts with the galloping of the horses were shocking. Many of the most respectable gentlemen of the town were thrown down, ridden over and trampled upon. One special constable was killed on the spot; another was borne home dreadfully hurt. The whole of this serious affray lasted not many minutes. The ground was cleared as if by magic."

Bamford's account runs: "On the breaking of the crowd the yeomanry wheeled, and dashing wherever there was an opening, they followed, pressing and wounding. Many females and striplings appeared as the crowd opened; their cries were piteous and heartrending. In ten minutes from the commencement of the havoc, the field was an open and almost deserted space." Mr. J. B. Smith's report of what he saw from the window in Mount Street corresponds.

Exactly how, we may be inclined to ask, was the charge of the Hussars made? Lieutenant Jolliffe, who took part in it, shall answer the question. We must premise, however, that he has his cardinal points wrong. For "south-west" we must read "south-east," and for "south" we must read "east". There is no doubt that the Hussars lined up in Mount Street, and swept the square from Mount Street to Deansgate. This is clear, not only from Stanley's plan, but also from Jolliffe's own statement that his troopers found themselves in Byrom Street after crossing the square. He writes: "Some one who had been sent from the place of meeting to bring us, led the way through a number of narrow streets by a circuitous route to (what I will call) the south-west corner of St. Peter's fields. We advanced along the south side of this space of ground, without a halt or pause even; the words "Front!" and "Forward!" were given, and the trumpet sounded the charge, at the very moment the threes wheeled up. When fronted, our line extended quite across the ground, which in all parts was so filled with people that their hats seemed to touch." When the square was cleared, Lieutenant Jolliffe was sent by his commander to find a trumpeter, in order that he might sound the "Rally" or "Retreat". "This sent me down the street I had first been in [i.e. Byrom Street, or possibly St. John Street] after the pursuing men of my troop."

There are four other points touched upon in Lieutenant Jolliffe's narrative, which should not be omitted if the story is to be complete.

We have already mentioned the loose baulks of timber that lay scattered about to the south of the Friends' meeting-house. These "timber-trees," as he calls them, "could not be distinguished when the mob covered them, and they caused bad falls to one officer's horse and to many of the troopers" of the Hussars. Jolliffe himself went to the assistance of "a private of the regiment whose horse had fallen over a piece of timber nearly in the middle of the square, and who was most seriously injured".

Lieutenant Jolliffe's account of the fight near the Friends' meeting-house, also mentioned above, runs thus: "The mob had taken possession of various buildings, particularly of a Quakers' chapel and burial-ground enclosed with a wall. This they occupied for some little time, and in attempting to displace them some of the men and horses were struck with stones and brickbats. Seeing a sort of fighting going on, I went in that direction. At the very moment I reached the Quakers' meeting-house, I saw a farrier of the 15th ride at a small door in the outer wall, and to my surprise his horse struck it with such force that it flew open. Two or three hussars then rode in, and the place was immediately in their possession."

The statement in the "Chronicle" on the following Saturday to the effect that "one of the Yeomanry leaped his horse over the wall after a Reformer" would seem to be apocryphal, as the plan produced at the Trial showed that there was a drop of 10 feet on one side. I have to thank the authorities who have charge of the archives at the Friends' meeting-house for their courtesy in acceding to my request that the Records and Minute Books for August, 1819, should be examined. They could find no mention whatever of Peterloo.

Lieutenant Jolliffe also clears up the following reference in Stanley's account. Stanley says: "I saw no firearms, but distinctly heard four or five shots towards the close of the business on the opposite side of the square, beyond the hustings, but no one could inform me by whom they were fired". Jolliffe tells of a pistol fired from a window; and a footnote by Captain Smyth of the Cheshire Yeomanry refers to some men on the roof of a house with a gun. "The 88th fired a shot or two over the roof and cleared the spot."

Lastly, the question arises: What use was made of the Cheshire Yeomanry when they arrived in St. Peter's fields? Stanley, who shows them halting between the hustings and Windmill Street, adds

this note to his plan : " My attention was so much taken up with the proceedings of the Manchester Yeomanry, etc., and the dispersion in front of the hustings, that I cannot speak accurately as to their subsequent movements ". It is clear that they cannot have charged the crowd from that point. They would have been riding at right angles to the charge of the Hussars. The Centenary Volume of the Cheshire Yeomanry throws no light on the matter. The most detailed contemporary plan shows Yeomanry and foot-soldiers at different points " intercepting and cutting at fugitives ". Lieutenant Jolliffe, speaking of the Cheshire Yeomanry and the 31st Infantry, says : " the whole remained formed up till our squadrons had fallen in again ". Captain Smyth, who led one of the troops of the Cheshire Yeomanry, says (in a footnote to Jolliffe's account) : " The Yeomanry and Infantry stationed at the four corners opened to allow the multitude to escape ". We are therefore driven to the conclusion that l'Estrange held the Cheshire Yeomanry in reserve while the Hussars made their charge.

We have at least two testimonies as to the appearance of the fugitives as they streamed into the open country. Mr. Prentice had left the crowd to go to his home in Salford just as Hunt had mounted the hustings. " I had not been at home more than a quarter of an hour," he says, " when a wailing sound was heard from the main street, and rushing out, I saw people running in the direction of Pendleton, their faces pale as death, and some with blood trickling down their cheeks. It was with difficulty I could get anyone to stop and tell me what had happened. The unarmed multitude, men, women and children, had been attacked with murderous results by the military." Mr. William Royle, in his " History of Rusholme," published in 1914, says : " I remember my father telling me that on the day of the Peterloo massacre in 1819 he was standing at the corner of Norman Road, and saw crowds of people coming from Manchester, many with marks of blood upon them received in that murderous affray ".

Meanwhile, Hunt, who was brutally maltreated after his arrest, had been hurried with the other prisoners to the New Bailey in Salford. The military and special constables patrolled the streets. Apparently the temper of the crowd had been roused to a dangerous pitch. Stanley, who praises the quiet demeanour of the people before the event, says : " At the conclusion of the business I found them in a very different state of feeling. I heard repeated vows of revenge.



HENRY HUNT'S BIRTHPLACE ON SALISBURY PLAIN



THE PRISON CELLS IN LANCASTER CASTLE WHERE HENRY HUNT AND SAMUEL BAMFORD WERE CONFINED AFTER PETERLOO

'You took us unprepared, we were unarmed to-day, and it is your day, but when we meet again the day shall be ours.'" Bamford, who led the remnant of his contingent into Middleton with a band and one remaining banner, corroborates this: "All the working people of Manchester I found athirst for revenge"; the Middleton folk "brooding over a spirit of vengeance towards the authors of our humiliation and our wrong." The centre of disorder seems to have been at New Cross. The Riot Act was read at this place between seven and eight, and a number of people were wounded, one fatally, by shots from the military.

But in these days of hospitals and Red Cross Societies our thoughts inevitably follow the wounded as they made their way painfully homewards. Thousands of those at the meeting had come from as far as Bury, and had to walk back. The Committee that was afterwards formed for their relief drew up a list of authenticated cases, from which it appears that we may safely say that eleven were killed and between 500 and 600 more or less seriously injured. The subscriptions to the relief fund amounted to over £3000. As examples, let us follow two of the wounded to their homes on the fateful 16th of August. "It was," says Bamford, in speaking of Redford's wound, "a clean gash of about six inches in length and quite through the shoulder blade. I found Redford's mother bathing it. She yearned and wept afresh when she saw the severed bone gaping in the wound. She asked who did it, and Tom mentioned a person; he said he knew him well, and she, sobbing, said she also knew him and his father and mother before him." There is another point to remember. Reliable authorities assure us that in many cases the wounded dare not apply for proper treatment, for fear of losing employment by being branded as Reformers. We have already mentioned that Redford's case was the subject of a test trial three years later, when he sued the yeomanry for "unlawful cutting and wounding," but the Jury found for the defendants in a few minutes. The other case, a much more painful one, and yet one that must be typical of many, was that of an Oldham youth named John Lees, who had fought at Waterloo, who came home with external and internal injuries to which he succumbed after the most excruciating suffering. Those who wish may read all the harrowing details of this most painful case in the Report of the Inquest, which after dragging on for a number of months was eventually quashed by a legal quibble.

As he rode back across the square, Lieutenant Jolliffe had noticed, lying here and there, "the unfortunates who were too much injured to move away, and the sight was rendered more distressing by observing some women among the sufferers". On the following afternoon he "visited the Infirmary in company with some military medical officers. I saw there from twelve to twenty cases of sabre-wounds, and among these two women who appeared not likely to recover. . . . One man was in a dying state from a gunshot wound in the head ; another had had his leg amputated ; both these casualties arose from the firing of the 88th the night before. Two or three were reported dead, one of them a constable killed in St. Peter's fields, but I saw none of the bodies."

It was not till half-past ten on Wednesday morning that the Prince Regent's Cheshire Yeomanry, in their blue jackets, with silver-braid ornament, scarlet cuffs and collar, and plated buttons—having spent one night patrolling the town, and another "lying at their horses' heads in St. Peter's fields"—mounted and rode away home, where they were warmly welcomed. Many of them had made their wills before they had set out for Manchester two days earlier, with serious misgivings.

Such is the story of Peterloo. "After Peterloo" is a story in itself. Into the details of that story—the meeting held at the Star Inn a few days later, to vote the thanks of the "Inhabitants of Manchester" to the Magistrates and the Military—the indignant "Declaration and Protest," bearing some 5000 signatures, which followed immediately, and showed incontestably that that meeting was private and quite unrepresentative—Mr. Francis Phillips's ably written "Exposure of the Calumnies circulated against the Magistrates and the Yeomanry"—Mr. John Edward Taylor's spirited "Reply" to this—the Thanks of the Prince Regent to the Magistrates and the Military, sent at the instigation of Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, whose first remark on hearing of the tragedy was that he "trusted the proceedings at Manchester would prove a salutary lesson to modern reformers"—the "Papers relative to the internal state of the country" presented to Parliament in the autumn, containing the correspondence between the Magistrates and the Home Office—Mr. J. E. Taylor's "Notes and Observations" on these, which Sir A. W. Ward has pronounced to

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THE PETERLOO MEDAL

Note the women and children, and the Cap of Liberty held aloft
in the centre

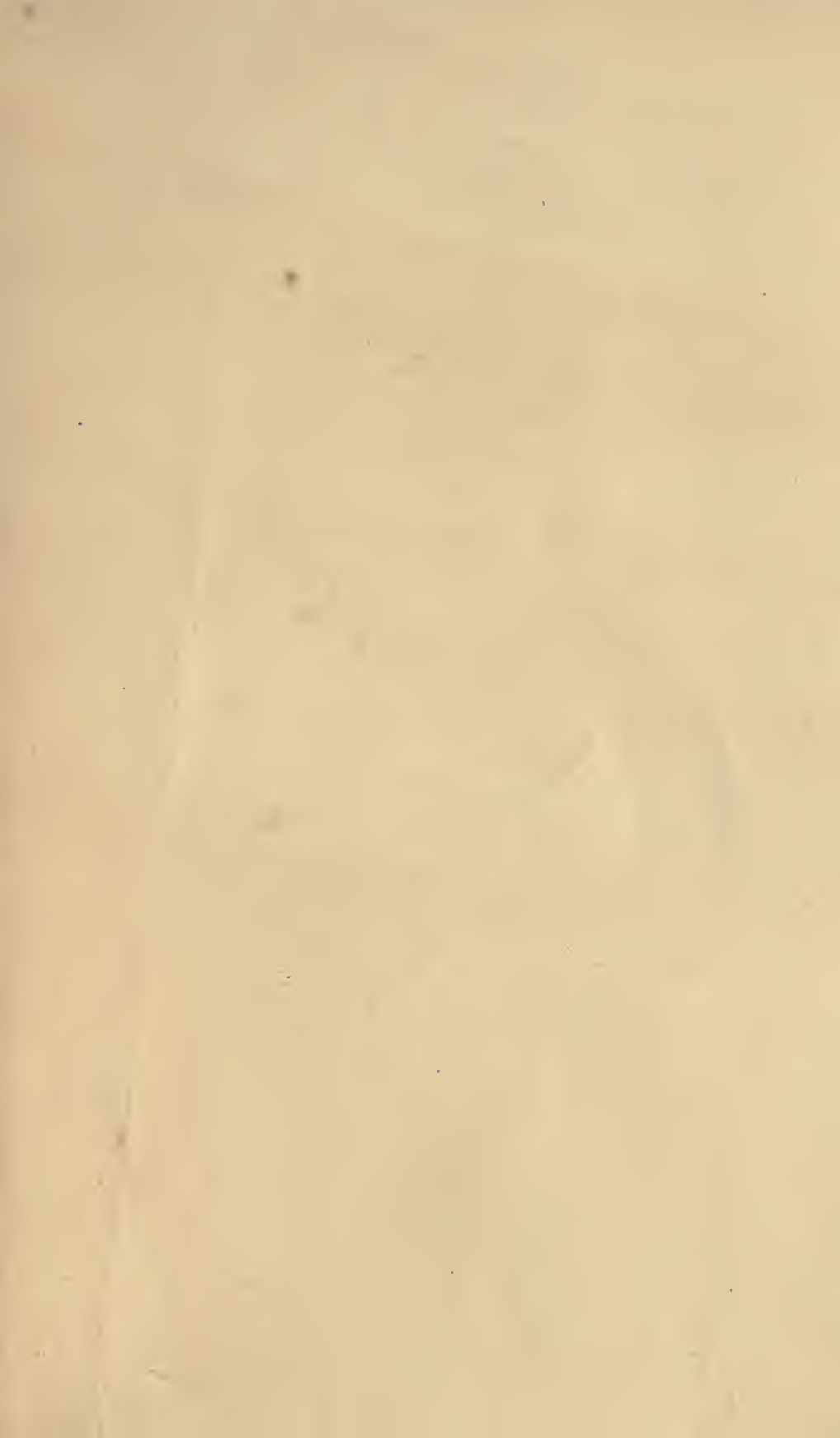


be "the chief monument of his literary powers and political principles"—the storm of indignation that arose in Great Britain and Ireland—the great meetings held in London and the Provinces to demand inquiry (for summoning one of which Earl Fitzwilliam was immediately removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of the West Riding, "the Prince Regent having no further occasion for his services")—the determination of ministers, nevertheless, to burke inquiry, which led to protests on all hands (Earl Grosvenor, e.g. sent £50 to the Relief Fund, "not as a friend of Universal Suffrage," but as protesting against the refusal to allow investigation; while Lord Carlisle, in a confidential letter, since made public by the Historical Documents Commission, characterised the conduct of the Government in this particular matter as "marked by downright insanity," though he afterwards supported the third reading of their Seditious Meetings Bill)—the protest presented to the Prince Regent by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London—the triumphal procession of Mr. Hunt from Lancaster to Manchester, and his reception by enormous crowds in London—the interminable discussions as to the legality of the meeting, and the right of the magistrates to interfere—the careful investigation by the Relief Committee of some 600 cases of those killed and wounded in the fray—the harrowing details (reported by Taylor himself) revealed at the Inquest at Oldham, which, after dragging on for months, was quashed by the Court of King's Bench, because, forsooth, the Coroner and the Jury had not viewed the body at the same time—the sternly repressive policy adopted by the Government, culminating in the famous Six Acts, in introducing which Lord Castlereagh admitted that the Manchester meeting was not contrary to law, an admission which Mr. Hobhouse immediately seized upon as the text for his masterly "Letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh"—the long debates in Parliament year after year—the fining and imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett for too severely censuring the action of the Government—the tramp of the Manchester Reformers over the Pennines to take their trial at York Assizes, in the course of which "the ascent of Blackstone Edge tried the marching powers of the women"—the long days of the Trial itself—the subtle summing-up of the Judge—the verdict against the leading Reformers, as guilty of "assembling with unlawful banners an unlawful assembly, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the King to contempt and hatred of the Government and Constitution of the Realm, as by law

quashed appeal—the subsequent proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, when sentence was pronounced, Hunt afterwards serving two and a half years in Ilchester jail, Bamford, Johnson, and Healey one year at Lincoln—the test trial at Lancaster three years after Peterloo, when Thomas Redford sued the Manchester Yeomanry for “unlawful cutting and wounding,” and the jury found for the defendants in six minutes—and finally, the periodical discussion of all these things in the press—into the details of these matters we do not enter here.

St. Peter's fields have long ago become part of the great city, the chief centre of its entertainments, strangely enough, and the site of the Battle for Free Trade ; the Friends' meeting-house has been rebuilt, and the oak trees have disappeared ; the site of Cooper's cottage and garden is now covered by “one of the finest hotels in Europe” ; the exigencies of modern traffic have swept away the dark pile of St. Peter's church, whose grimy clock was once such a familiar object ; but as we stand in front of the Central Station to-day, the Halls of Pleasure disappear, and the picture that haunts us is that of a stricken field, the victims lying in heaps—“some still groaning, others with staring eyes, gasping for breath, others will never breathe more ; all silent, save for those low sounds, and the occasional snorting and pawing of steeds”. It all seems so unfair. They were *inarticulate*. They had come, with all the hilarity of a general holiday, to ask that they might have a Voice. They were met by the bungling of incompetent authorities, behind whom loomed the great, strong, repressive Government, saying : “I am God, and King, and Law,” backed by a House of Commons that was hopelessly unrepresentative.

Yet their blood, as has been well said, proved in the end to be the seed of some of our most cherished liberties. “The Manchester massacre,” wrote Harriet Martineau, speaking, of course, as a Radical herself, “was at once felt on all hands to have made an epoch in the history of the contest with Radicalism”. Parliamentary Representation came, and Local Government based on the Suffrage soon followed, the antiquated manorial Court giving place eventually to the Manchester Corporation. In his famous pamphlet, entitled “Incorporate your Borough,” issued to the people of Manchester less than twenty years later, in 1838, Richard Cobden wrote : “Peterloo could never have happened if the Borough had been incorporated. Why ? Because





the magistrates of Lancashire and Cheshire, who entered the town and sat at the Star Inn to take command of the police, and order the soldiers to cut down and trample upon unarmed crowds, would have no more jurisdiction over Manchester than Constantinople"; and in her "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," from which we have already quoted, Harriet Martineau describes Peterloo as "the great event of the year, and the most memorable incident in the history of the popular movements of the time".

The author of "Childe Harold" speaks of the "red rain" that fell at Waterloo, and "made the harvest grow" on the fields of Belgium. Perhaps we may, not inappropriately, borrow his figure, and say that the red rain that fell at Peterloo, four years later, has helped to ripen another harvest—the harvest of Freedom.

NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Five of the half-tone blocks are taken from the late Mr. A. Marcroft's "Landmarks of Local Liberalism". For permission to use them we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. Marcroft of Southport, and Messrs. Hirst and Rennie of Oldham.

The view of Peterloo—the best of several sketches extant—is from a contemporary print now in the possession of Mr. Walter Flinn of Fallowfield. The details are fairly accurate. The houses on the right, at the back, are in Windmill Street; those to the left are in Mount Street; in one of these, number 6, the magistrates met. On the extreme left is seen "the corner of a garden wall, round which the Manchester Yeomanry, in blue and white uniform, came trotting, sword in hand, to the front of a row of new houses". Among the figures on the hustings we can distinguish Mr. Hunt, and a woman whom we may assume to be the "female reformer" who rode in his carriage. The crowd to the right of the picture are on the site of the Free Trade Hall.

The full-length portrait of Hunt is from a print now at the Manchester Reference Library. The bronze medallion of Hunt, now in the vestibule of the Manchester Reform Club, was unveiled by Mr. C. P. Scott on June the 29th, 1908. The illustration is from a photograph lent by Mr. John Cassidy, R.C.A., who designed and executed the memorial.

The Plan of Peterloo has been drawn specially for this publication. It is based upon about half a dozen contemporary plans, including a tiny sketch by the Rev. Edward Stanley, which is useful as showing where the various bodies of mounted troops halted, and the directions in which they charged. The times are of course deduced from a comparison of the slightly varying accounts, and are only intended to be approximate. They cannot, however, be wrong by more than a few minutes.

SYNOPSIS OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY ACCORDING TO THEO- DORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

EDITED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D.

FOREWORD.

THE following pages contain the translation of a Syriac Text purporting to give in a concise form the opinion of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the principal questions of Christian Theology. The keen interest shown by many Theologians in the writings of this illustrious Father of the Church justifies the translator's hope that the same welcome will be extended to the outcome of his labour. We may say of Theodore that not the least of his misfortunes is that he lived in the fourth instead of the twentieth century where he would have possibly had more favourable and sympathetic readers. The epithet "father of rationalism" applied to him by some church historians is true in a sense ; his mind so far as known to us from some stray and scanty extracts could not acquiesce in the acceptance of an article of faith which was not proved to be in conformity with a sound judgment and the revealed word of God ; he was an independent inquirer laying one hand on his Greek Aristotle and the other on his Semitic Bible, and trying to reconcile both and to direct them to one end ; whether he succeeded or not it is not a matter of concern to us, but the fact remains that he was the first writer who systematically introduced the rational element into Christian apologetics, and living fifteen centuries after him we cannot but deprecate, for no other reason than the preservation of Christian unity, the action taken against him after his death by some over-zealous and hasty bishops.

That the extracts here printed are truly Theodore's, anyone acquainted with the inner life of the East Syrian Church will readily admit. This so-called Nestorian Church possessed at a very early date nearly all Theodore's writings in a Syriac translation, and ascribed to him without qualification the title of "The Interpreter" *par*

excellence. When we find, therefore, an East Syrian writer quoting Theodore or Theodore's writings, we may *a priori* conclude that we are truly dealing with Theodore himself. A Christian theologian would find it difficult in our days to misquote Paul, and for all practical purposes the interpreter's name was only one degree below that of the Apostle.

That the Syriac text is in its main lines a translation from the Greek is borne out by the following remarks :—

In question 5 the translator under the influence of the Greek text lying before him used Ammon with an *Alaph* instead of 'Ammon with a guttural ' of the Peshiṭta. Similarly in question 5 the quotation from Luke i. 35 proves that the Syriac translator has preferred the use of "to come" in masculine as it is in the Greek text, to the feminine form of the same verb found in the Peshiṭta. See also question 24 in which the derivation of the words "Episcopus" and "Catholicos" is discussed.

Theodore knew probably some Hebrew. In question 2 he seems to be playing on the word אֲדֹנִי to find in it the meaning of "judge" which in his opinion underlies the name of God, and in question 23 he is endeavouring to derive the word "Nazarene" from נֶצֶר, but instead of resorting to the usual interpretation of the Hebraic word, he gives to it the uncommon meaning of "new".

Although the substance of these questions and answers is undoubtedly taken from Theodore, it is probable that the Syrian editor (as he himself suggests) allowed himself a certain amount of freedom in his work. In question 22 the disciple is inquiring about the meaning of the word "Christianity" and the teacher is appealing to its Aramaic equivalent of *Mshihāyūtha* as if he was writing to readers not necessarily familiar with Greek. Similarly, in question 5 the pith of the difficulty of the word "power" turns on the pivot of the Hebrew-Aramaic "hail" which has the meaning of "power" both in *abstracto* and in *concreto*, i.e. army, forces. In question 35 there is a play on the Aramaic word *dukhṛāna*, meaning "commemoration of a saint, "feast," and "in remembrance".

As the 36 questions of the treatise (the numerical division is our own), embrace nearly all points of Christian dogma, it will be useful to give under a few headings a short summary of some of the author's Theological views :—

His Trinitarian doctrine is post-Nicene, and it explicitly or implicitly embodies the teaching and the technology of the first general council (cf. questions 1, 16, and especially 18).

His Christology is that which is generally ascribed to him. Christ is a second Adam (questions 8, 31), but he is God (question 18, etc.) acting in harmony with his Father (question 12, etc.).

Theodore was certainly a sacramentarian ; he frequently mentions baptism, Eucharist, and ordination, but in the mysteries of the four other sacraments of the early mediæval Theology he is not versed. His view on baptism is that it is necessary for salvation, but pagans and children of pagans, and even Christians who *involuntarily*, i.e. not of their own fault, die without baptism, will not go to torment. In question 14 we read the following words : " He, therefore, who is unclean and is baptized, is justified, and he who has no sins and is baptized, is marked with the sufferings of Christ ; further, he who is baptized, is circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, and becomes a temple to God. Those who died without baptism—I am speaking of those who lived prior to the coming of Christ—are not to be blamed, because Christ had not yet died for them ; they were not even ordered to be baptized, but now that He has come and has been killed, he who refuses to be baptized shows that he rejects the baptism of Christ and is a stranger to his life." For more details see questions 13-18 in which the doctrine of baptism is fully elaborated.

So far as Eucharist is concerned Theodore may possibly have believed that the bread and the wine of the Sacramental service are only the symbols of the body and blood of Christ. " We are baptized," he says, " once only, because our Lord died once only, but we perform the symbol of his body many times because it¹ has been given unto us as food of life everlasting " (question 17).

As for ordination he is strongly of opinion that the imposition of hands gives real power to the one who receives it, but nothing is said about the vexed question of who is the right person to impose hands ; must he be an Episcopus, a Presbyter, or any other person appointed by the congregation over which the *ordinandus* is going to preside ? Theodore makes mention, in this occurrence, of the right hand of God, but it is probable that we are to understand this metaphor in a figura-

¹ Or " He ".

tive sense and refer it to the minister's power bestowed upon him by God himself. We quote here in full a remarkable passage the emphasis of which will not escape notice (question 28).

Although there are in the Church priests sinful and false (to their obligations), yet the right hand of God which has been imposed upon their heads is true, and the sacrifice they offer is pure, and because the Holy Spirit is obedient it will come down and flutter over the sacrifice they offer, and it will become propitiation to those who receive it. If a priest is false because of his odious conduct, the baptism which he administers is true, because of the (imposition of the) right hand (which he has received) and if his works are sinful, the sacrifice which he offers is genuine, because of the Holy Spirit, and if he sins, the people will not be punished for his prevarications. It is not the holy who make the Holy Spirit come down by their holiness, nor is it the sinners who prevent it from coming down by their sins ; it is a gift which has been bestowed by God's grace for the pardon of mankind. A priest who defrauds invokes it, and it comes down for the sake of those who do not defraud ; an impure man invokes it, and it answers him for the sake of those who are pure ; a prodigal invokes it, and it obeys him for the sake of those who hunger for it ; a wretched man invokes it, and it submits to him for the sake of those who thirst for it. It does not come down through the works of the man who invokes it, but through the intercession of those who stand behind the minister who is turning his eyes towards it ; it does not look at the sins of the man who invokes it, but it takes into consideration the expectations of those who are asking its intercession. If the priest is a sinner, his iniquity, like his justice, is upon himself alone ; every one is smitten with his own sins. Those who assert that the sacrifice of a sinful priest is not holy, assert wrongly. I shall go even so far as to assert to thee, O my son, and confirm my assertion by an oath, that if a hand is imposed upon Satan, there is in him the hand of priesthood, and if he breaks the sanctified bread and give me of it, I shall receive it from him, and regard it as lacking nothing, and as if Simon Cephas had broken it for me. Do not be in doubt about these things as some people are."

From this long citation we infer that Theodore is in agreement with the rest of Eastern Fathers that the consecratory words of bread and wine in the mass are those contained in the "Epiclesis" and not

"Hoc est enim corpus meum" as stated by the scholastic Theologians of the middle ages.

The eschatology of the author deserves also some notice. It is well known that he disbelieved in the eternity of torments in hell ; this view is implicitly borne out by the present extracts in which he makes no mention of this important point of orthodox Christianity. Whenever he has occasion to treat of after-death torments, he carefully avoids the use of any term savouring of eternity (cf. questions 27, 33). He is also very emphatic on the subject that there is no remuneration of the saints and no punishment of the sinners till the day of Resurrection (question 33).

The following passage is worth quoting : " In the wombs the wealthy and the poor, the slaves and the freemen, the Kings and the wretched are equal ; neither the rich feel any delight nor the poor any want ; but when they come to the world, the Kings are distinguished by their dresses and their honour, and the wretched are known by their lowness and poverty. In this same way, the souls of the just and of the unjust are equal till the day of Resurrection, in which the bodies are born [again] of the earth, their mother, and the souls put on their bodies, as children put on dresses of all kind, then the well-doers will receive their reward and dwell in light and the evil-doers will be thrown into darkness."

Other theories upheld by Theodore in connection with the time and the order of the events dealing with the day of Resurrection and last judgment are expounded at length in question 26.

A few words would suffice to describe the manuscript which contains the present extracts. It formerly belonged to Rendel Harris's collection and it was then labelled "Cod. Syr. 146". It is now preserved in the John Rylands Library and consists of mixed contents, the chief among which are (a) an interpretation of the difficult words found in the Old and New Testaments ; (b) a historical discourse by Epiphanius on the Prophets ; (c) a biographical treatise by Eusebius of Cæsarea on the Apostles and disciples ; (d) a small Græco-Syriac vocabulary ; (e) the *Capita Scientiæ* of Rabban Aphnimaran (VIIIth cent.) ; (f) the extracts from Theodore of which we give a translation.

The manuscript is dated in the year of the Seleucids, 1861, which corresponds with A.D. 1550. The copyist complains of the bad state

of the manuscript from which he was transcribing, but apart from some easily detectable errors we are glad to say that his *lapsus calami* have been few and on the whole unimportant.

All the above treatises saw the light at a time preceding the Arab invasion. The Syriac style used in them is modelled on that of the Peshitta, and a few Greek or Latin words are explained in old Persian and not in Arabic, such, for instance, is the case with *καθαίρεσις* and *Dux*. The Persian equivalent of the former is *Nawinshtang* (fol. 177^b) and of the latter *Marzubān* (fol. 171^a).

TRANSLATION.

By the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write selected questions excerpted from the works of the blessed Theodore, the Interpreter, and briefly arranged.

1. *Question*.—Is God good by His nature or by His will?

Answer.—God is the source of all good attributes and power; the goodness and justice which He possesses are the summit of perfect goodness and justice. He is not circumscribed by the requirements of (human) nature, nor is He subordinated to the order of (worldly) knowledge, because goodness, justice, power, and wisdom are (essentially) His. He is remote from wrong-doing, because He is the Supreme Being capable of creating what He wishes and justly judging what He wills without iniquity; and since He is above all the imperfections and higher than the intelligence of every created thing, a made man cannot define His maker, nor is a creature able to confine its creator within the limits of its knowledge. In proportion as His nature is above all beginning, His definition is beyond the capacity of a creature with a beginning. As a proof to thee that the Creator is good, men did not perform any good work before they were created, that we may say that they received this favour from the Just One, as a reward of their action. Because God is good (by His Nature) He began with goodness and created man.

2. *Question*.—What is the meaning and the *raison d'être* of the word "God". Are we to refer it to things connected with nature or actions?

Answer.—There are people who say that the meaning of the word *God* is *judge*. When, therefore, I say that "God is a righteous

Judge,"¹ there is reason for my saying so ; indeed there is no name without reason ; He is thus called *maker*, because He makes ; *creator*, because He creates ; *judge*, because He judges ; *Lord*, because He has servants ; *All-Seer*, because He sees everything. This is the reason of all these (adjectives).

3. *Question*.—What is the extension and the significance of the word *God* ?

Answer.—The word *God* refers to nature, and is of the category of names which can be applied to other natures without essential transformation of their nature ; in this way the name " *God* " extends to other natures, such as " I made thee god to Pharaoh,"² and " I have said ye are gods,"³ etc. From these it is evident that *God's* nature is not removed from Him with the removal of His name to other natures. Why ? Because the Lord of these names has no grudging. Those who received this name have only received it figuratively without having been gods by nature. It is a name which involves lordship, and thus it fits in with the attributes of nature and extends to other natures.

4. *Question*.—Is *God* separable from His will, or are *God* and His will one *God* ?

Answer.—*God* is *God*, and His will is not His nature, nor has will any person, because will is in itself an act. It has been said in this respect " *God* desired the descendants of Noah and Abraham to be without baptism, but now He desires their baptism, and in the world to come He will not desire the baptism of people who were not baptized ".

5. *Question*.—It is written that the Angel said to Mary, " The Holy Ghost shall come, and the *power* of the Most High shall descend upon thee,"⁴ and the Apostle said, " Christ the *power* of *God*,"⁵ but *God* also called locusts His power, because He said, " I sent against you my great *power* " ;⁶ Christ and locusts are, therefore, the *power* of *God*.⁷

¹ Ps. vii. 12. The author is probably working on אדיני from דין "to judge".

² Ex. vii. 1.

³ Ps. lxxxii. 6.

⁴ Luke i. 35. The translator, under the influence of the Greek text, used the verb "to come" in masculine instead of feminine as in the Peshitta.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 24.

⁶ I.e. Army (Joel ii. 25).

⁷ In Hebrew and Aramaic the word *hail* means both " army ") in concreto) and " power " (in abstracto).

Answer.—Locusts have been called the power of God figuratively only, and not because they were from the nature of God.¹ Similarly Israel has been called “the powers (= armies) of God,” and in this sense it is written, “The king of Babylon sent his power (= army) and besieged Jerusalem”.² Could he have sent his nature? No. When it is written, “The power (= army) of the King of Egypt came,” can it mean that his nature came? No. Was it not called his power simply because of its subjection to him? Likewise in the following sentence, “He sent another one from the King of Ammon”³ and he was unwilling to send his power (= army),”⁴ power has been used to denote subjection to the King its sender and accomplishment of his will; locusts, therefore, have been called the power of God because they came to accomplish the will of God, in a manner similar to the expression “power of the King,” and not because they were from the nature of God, like the Son proceeding from Himself, who put on our humanity.

6. *Question.*—It is written, “There shall no man see me and live,”⁵ why will the man who sees Him die, is it because of the “intensity of His anger”⁶ or “the brightness of His essence?”⁷

Answer.—It is because of the brightness of His essence that no man shall see Him and live; because created and corporeal eyes cannot see the uncreated essence. Lo we cannot look and gaze intently at the sun of this world, how can we then look at the creator of the sun?

7. *Question.*—Why was our Lord born of a woman instead of fashioning a body to Himself in the same manner as He moulded and fashioned Adam, the head of our race?

Answer.—Our Lord was born of a woman because men before as after His coming, pronounced unclean the nature of womanhood, and despised the order sanctioned by the Creator; He was born, therefore, of a woman to teach and demonstrate that her members were not unclean, and that the order He had made was not to be despised and abhorred, as the Heretics asserted.

¹ 1 Sam. xvii. 36, 45.

² Cf. Jer. xxxiii. 2; xxxix. 1.

³ By an oversight the translator used Ammon instead of ‘Ammon, under the influence of the Greek text.

⁴ Cf. 1 Sam. x. 1-19; 1 Chron. 1-19.

⁵ Exod. xxxiii. 20.

⁶ Ps. lxxviii. 49.

⁷ Heb. i. 3.

8. *Question*.—Why was He born of a Virgin without marriage ?

Answer.—He was born of a Virgin without marriage to show that He was the Creator who created also the first Adam¹ without marriage. Further, He fashioned to Himself a body in the womb without marriage and put it on and came out in order to show that inasmuch as sin entered the world by means of the first virgin, and a woman was the cause of our death, so also life was to be given unto us by means of a woman.²

9. *Question*.—Why (was He born) of a betrothed and not of an unbetrothed virgin ?

Answer.—He was born of a betrothed virgin in order that it might be proved that she did not commit adultery ; (the girl) who is betrothed is indeed kept under great care, and (in the case) the testimony of Joseph is to the effect that she did not commit any adultery, and that he found nothing blameable in her.

10. *Question*.—Why did our Lord appear from the progeny of David and Judah and not from another tribe ?

Answer.—He appeared from the tribe of Judah in order that the prediction of the prophets might be fulfilled. Jacob said in his prophecy, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a prophet from between his feet, until the Christ to whom government belongs comes, and Him shall nations expect".³ Another Book says, "The King Messiah will come out of Judah".⁴

11. *Question*.—Why was our Lord circumcised, and why did He offer sacrifices ? There are Heretics who say "If your Lord was circumcised, circumcise also yourselves".

Answer.—Our Lord was not circumcised for the sake of a personal profit, and He did not offer sacrifices in order to be justified by them ; the giver of all these was in no need of them. His only aim in His circumcision was to proclaim, teach, and demonstrate that He was the Son of God, the Maker and the establisher of the Law, and that circumcision was not a point excluded from the Law as the Heretics asserted.

12. *Question*.—Did our Lord die willingly or forcibly ? If He

¹ Note Theodore's doctrine of the first and second Adam.

² Cf. Rom. v. 12.

³ Gen. xlix. 10.

⁴ I Chron. v. 2 (Peshitta) ; cf. Testament of Levi, p. 309, v. 14 in Charles' "Apocrypha," and also *ibid.*, p. 323, xxiv. 1.

died willingly, He agreed with His murderers, who in this case would not deserve the pain of death, but are all the more to be rewarded because they have accomplished His will.

Answer.—He did not die forcibly, and He was not weaker than His murderers, who murdered Him because they hated Him and His sender. He died by God's tacit permission, which preserves the free-will of man. If He had saved Himself from the cross He would have coerced His free-will and required that it should not accomplish His desire. He did not coerce His free-will, but He tacitly permitted the act of His crucifixion, and, although able to save Himself from the cross, He did not do so in order to safeguard His free-will and act spontaneously.

13. *Question.*—Was the baptism of John a Jewish institution? If they answer in the affirmative, ask them, "Why did He then baptize publicans and adulteresses, a thing which is forbidden by the Jews, and by their Law? Further, if it was a Jewish institution, why were not all Jews baptized by him?" If they answer, "It was our Lord's [institution]," tell them what John himself made manifest, viz. "He that cometh after me, is mightier than I, and he shall baptize with fire and with the Holy Ghost".¹ From this it is evident that it was not our Lord's.

Answer.—John's baptism was neither from Jews nor from Christ, but it was an institution set apart to be administered only in the water, after repentance from sins and rejection of trespasses. It was thus not more than remission (of sins) to those who believed in it. As to the baptism of Christ, all those who are baptized in it are clad with the Holy Ghost, and filled with the power of God.

14. *Question.*—The baptism thou hast received, what is it and for what? If thou sayest, "For the remission of sins," we would have then been baptized to no purpose,² and if thou sayest, "For our purification," I will say, "Therefore, all those who receive it without previous uncleanness, do not profit by it".

Answer.—Baptism is, as it is written, a circumcision made without hands,³ and renders those who receive it partakers of the sufferings of Christ.⁴ A sinner who is baptized, his sins are remitted to him, if

¹ Matt. iii. 11.

² Since penitence itself can have the same effect.

³ Col. ii. 11.

⁴ 2 Cor. i. 7; Phil. iii. 10.

he turns away from his previous life, but he who has no sins and is baptized, partakes of the sufferings of Christ and receives His mark ;¹ as it is written, "Ye are buried with Him in baptism wherein also ye live with Him".² He, therefore, who is unclean and is baptized, is justified, and he who has no sins and is baptized, is marked with the sufferings of Christ ; further, he who is baptized, is circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, and becomes a temple to God.³ Those who died without baptism—I am speaking of those who lived prior to the coming of Christ—are not to be blamed, because Christ had not yet died for them ; they were not even ordered to be baptized ; but now that He has come and has been killed, he who refuses to be baptized shows that he rejects the baptism of Christ, and is a stranger to His life.

15. *Question.*—If a God-loving man who had wished to partake of the sacrament of Baptism happens to die suddenly in a country where no priest is found, what shall we say about him, is he a Christian or not ?

Answer.—We say about such a man that if he had Christianity in his mind all the days of his life, and if knowingly and lovingly his soul was longing to partake of the sacrament of Baptism, but happened to die, not from culpable negligence but by the will of his Creator who shortened his life, that he is a Christian and has everlasting life.

16. *Question.*—Because some false religions have usurped the august names of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and use them only symbolically while they are alien to the force of their names, and strangers to the very truth of their symbol, if a Christian—man, woman, or baby—happens to be nearing his death, and in that locality where he is there is no believing priest to baptize him, is he allowed to follow a heretic⁴ in order to receive baptism from him or not ?

Answer.—He is not allowed to receive baptism from such people, even if he should die, because they do not believe in the true religion, and the symbols which they perform are not genuine. If such a one happens to die, and perseveres in not following them and receiving from them the vain names which they possess, he is an excellent Christian ; because he trusted in the truth and believed that the truth

¹ Not Peshitta.

² Col. ii. 12 ; cf. Rom. vi. 3.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 16-17.

⁴ Note *Bar Yulpâna* in the sense of "heretic".

of his faith would purify him, and because he persevered and did not lend his mind to error, nor turn his intelligence to imposters, he is an excellent man.

17. *Question*.—Why are we baptized once only, while we receive the body of our Lord many times and continually ?

Answer.—We are baptized once only because our Lord died once only, but we perform the symbol of His body ¹ many times, because it ² has been given unto us as food of life everlasting and drink of life. Our Lord ordered that it should be prepared and performed on the earth by the faithful and the saints till the end of the world. For this reason, as long as we are in this world, we must not neglect the food of life and the commemoration and the symbol of the passion of Christ, in order that He may be in us and we in Him, according to His firm promises to us.

18. *Question*.—What is Christianity and of what does it consist ? Of works or of faith ? If he says “of works” ask him, “What are these works ? Are they chastity, holiness, asceticism, fasting, prayer, etc. ?” If Christianity consists of these, among the Heretics also there are people who are ascetic and abstaining from food, who would then constitute Christianity ; nay even among pagans there are people who give alms and worship idols, who in this case would also be Christian.

Answer.—Christianity does not consist of good works, but of solid faith in which one believes in God as an essential being, and in the Son proceeding from Him, as Saviour of mankind who put on our humanity, and in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, as consubstantial with God. This is the august Trinity who created the created things from nothing. In pronouncing three names we do not believe in three Gods ; the Father in His person, the Son in His person, and the Spirit in His person, are one nature, one Godhead, and one power. It is, therefore, obvious that Christianity does not consist solely of good works, but of the knowledge of God. It consists of a solid faith, and of good and pious works.

19. *Question*.—Are all those who love God Christian ?

Answer.—No ; the ancient Patriarchs were God-loving men, but

¹ Note that Theodore believes the Eucharist to be only the *symbol* of the body of Christ.

² Or “He”.

were not counted in Christianity, because it was not found in their days.¹

20. *Question*.—Are there people who do not know of Christianity and are Christian?

Answer.—Yes; the baptized children and babes do not know of Christianity and are Christian.

21. *Question*.—Are there people who are not Christian and know not what is Christianity?

Answer.—Yes; there are pagans and infidels who are not Christian and know not what is Christianity.²

22. *Question*.—What is the meaning of the name "Christianity"?

Answer.—The name Christianity is of Greek origin. It is translated into Aramaic by "*Meshihāyūtha*". Christians are "*Meshihāyé*," and Christ "*Meshīḥa*". True Christians are, therefore, obliged to know the mysteries of Christianity and make use of them in loving and honouring the Christ who died for them, in order that they may not be unworthy of the salvation to come.

23. *Question*.—What is the meaning of the words "Nazarenes," "Nazarenism," and "Nazareth"?

Answer.—The word "Nazarene" is of Hebraic origin. The prophet Isaiah says, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a *Neşer* out of his roots".³ Again he says, "And the *Neşer* which I have planted, the work of my hands, will be glorified".⁴ The meaning of *Neşer* is "new".⁵ The prophet did not call the teaching of our Lord by this name because it was "novel," but because God was to clothe Himself with a body from the Virgin without marriage in a "novel" way. That is why the prophet called it "new". Our Lord was called "Nazarene," i.e. from Nazareth, because He was brought up in the Nazareth of Galilee, and Nazareth of Galilee is called the "new" of Galilee, which is interpreted as referring to the Torah and the New Testament.

¹ There is here a question, the answer to which has been omitted by the copyist.

² There is here a short and unimportant question.

³ Is. xi. 1.

⁴ Is. lx. 21 (Peshitta).

⁵ That the word נֶצֶר means "new" is not warranted by the Hebrew lexicography known to us; the author may possibly have had in his mind "new shoot," "young growth," "sprout".

24. *Question*.—What is the meaning of the words “Church,” “Catholicos,” and “Bishops”?

Answer.—The words “Catholic Church,” mean a perfect congregation, that is to say blameless in truth and fulfilling all obligations. The words “Catholic, Church” are never applied to a congregation of Heretics, because they are not blameless in the true faith, and they do not fulfil the obligations of God’s cult. The word “Bishop” means *bearer of hardships*; as to the word “Catholicos” it means “protected” and “perfect,” that is to say, his mind is protected from vain thoughts and perfect in the obligations of God’s cult.¹

25. *Question*.—Why do we pray in the direction of the East, and not in the direction of North, South, and West, from which are the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Saviour of the World?²

Answer.—God is in height, depth, East, West, North, and South; space does not circumscribe Him, nor does place confine Him; we pray in the direction of the East solely in order that our eyes may gaze in the direction of Paradise and that we may remember our first place which our first father lost by his will. Further, the direction of the East is more noble than the other directions, according to the testimony of the prophet who says, “He brought me to the gate that looked toward the East, and behold, I saw the glory of the God of Israel coming from the way of the East, and his voice was like a noise of many waters and the earth quaked³ from His glory. And I fell upon my face, and the glory of the Lord came into the house by the gate⁴ whose prospect is towards the East.”⁵

26. *Question*.—Those who lived in this world in the true faith, while in the knowledge of God they were not less perfect than the faithful, but perpetrated sinful works and committed criminal and impure acts, such as unchastity in their mouth, and bad thoughts in their

¹ He appears to be deriving *ἐπίσκοπος* from *κόπος* (labour, toil), and *καθολικός* from *ὅλος* (whole, complete), or more directly from *καθόλου*.

² The sanctuary in all the Christian Churches in Syria and Mesopotamia looks towards the East, and all Christians pray in that direction; even the dead are so disposed in their graves as to have their faces towards the sunrise. The direction in which people pray has a great importance in the East, and we notice that special legislation has been enacted for the *Qiblah* in the Mohammedan jurisprudence, the source of which is Koran II, 136-145.

³ Peshitta = “Shone”.

⁴ By the way of the gate (Peshitta).

⁵ Ezek. xliii. 1-14.

mind, while as we have said, they were unshakable in the true faith, what shall we say of such people, and what shall we think about them? Are they impious, or just? Will not they enter heaven at all?

Answer.—Those who in this world did not hesitate to live in the true faith, but made use of bad works, and so left this world, it is possible that they might be, for the sake of the honour due to their true faith, set free from the bad works which they had committed by receiving previously the chastisement due to their bad works. Every work is measured and valued by the All-Seer whose knowledge nothing escapes; neither the sins of the body of men, nor the odious speech which comes out of their mouth, nor their thoughts and the bad designs of their minds escape Him; that is why He knows also the measure of their chastisement; and after He has inflicted disciplinary correction on them according to the measure of their works, they will live again, for the sake of the honour of their faith and other prescriptions which they have kept.

27. *Question.*—A man who holds to the faith and to the knowledge of truth, but conducts himself in this world in a disgraceful way, inclines towards sorcerers, diviners, or augurs, and consults¹ outsiders and astrologers, and puts in practice every small or great augury of demons, what shall we say about such a one, and how can we praise him?

Answer.—Those who made us of such bad works in this world, and denied the true faith, it is on them that the word of the Apostle is fulfilled, who says, "They profess that they know God, but in their works they deny Him".² If such people turn away from their odious works towards God, they will be accepted, but if they go out of the world in their bad works, they are sinful, and will not receive disciplinary measures, nor will they enter heaven, but will be thrown into the torment.

28. *Question.*—Since there are many who object to the priests who are in the Church, saying, "The Holy Spirit does not come down and flutter over the sacrifice they offer,"³ because there are among them

¹ Note that the verb *sha"el* with a *baith* has the sense of "to consult an augur".

² Tit. i. 16.

³ The Eastern Churches believe that the consecratory words of the bread and the wine of the mass are those contained in the *Epiclesis*, and not "Hoc est enim corpus meum".

men who steal, commit adultery, defraud, do violence, and forswear themselves ; how can the Holy Spirit obey these men and flutter over the sacrifice they offer, while they commit such bad works ? ”

Answer.—Although there are in the Church priests sinful and false (to their obligations), yet the right hand of God which has been imposed upon their heads is true, and the sacrifice they offer is pure, and because the Holy Spirit is obedient it will come down and flutter over the sacrifice they offer, and it will become propitiation to those who receive it. If a priest is false because of his odious conduct, the baptism which he administers is true because of the (imposition of the) right hand (which he has received), and if his works are sinful, the sacrifice which he offers is genuine because of the Holy Spirit, and if he sins, the people will not be punished for his prevarications. It is not the holy who make the Holy Spirit come down by their holiness, nor is it the sinners who prevent it from coming down by their sins ; it is a gift which has been bestowed by God's grace for the pardon of mankind. A priest who defrauds invokes it, and it comes down for the sake of those who do not defraud ; an impure man invokes it, and it answers him for the sake of those who are pure ; a prodigal invokes it, and it obeys him for the sake of those who hunger for it ; a wretched man invokes it, and it submits to him for the sake of those who thirst for it. It does not come down through the works of the man who invokes it, but through the intercession of those who stand behind the minister who is turning his eyes towards it ; it does not look at the sins of the man who invokes it, but it takes into consideration the expectations of those who are asking its intercession. If the priest is a sinner, his iniquity, like his justice, is upon himself alone ; every one is smitten with his own sins. Those who assert that the sacrifice of a sinful priest is not holy, assert wrongly. I shall go even so far as to assert to thee, O my son, and confirm my assertion by an oath, that if a hand is imposed upon Satan there is in him the hand of priesthood, and if he breaks the sanctified bread and give me of it, I shall receive it from him, and regard it as lacking nothing and as if Simon Cephas had broken it for me. Do not be in doubt about these things as some people are.

29. *Question.*—Children and babes who quit this world without having committed any iniquity and sins, nor done any good and praiseworthy work, where shall we put them or what shall we say about

them ? Will they go to heaven or to torment ? Is there another place which is neither heaven nor torment ?

Answer.—About which children hast thou asked ? The children of the faithful or the children of the unbelievers ?—because we must separate them in our answer. If thou hast asked about the children of the faithful, it is evident that there is no believer who leaves his child without the sacrament of baptism unless (this child) has been taken away by force. The babes who are baptized in the Divine sacrament of our Lord are in heaven, and those who are not baptized through the negligence of their parents go also to heaven, because it was not their own fault that they had not participated in the holy sacrament ; they are not, however, as honourable (in heaven) as those who have the mark of the holy sacrament, because baptism and Eucharist are acknowledged there.¹ As to the children of infidels who leave the world in their childhood without having done anything good or bad, iniquitous or godly, it is obvious that these also are in heaven, because they have committed no sins, but they have not the honour of the baptized, and they are in an intermediary state ; they will not be in torment because they have not perpetrated any crime, and they will not be debarred from heaven because they have not sinned, and thus the grace of God will nowhere be unjust to them.

30. *Question.*—Our Lord asserted to Nicodemus saying, “ Verily I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God ”.² And He said to the Jews, “ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you ”.³ How can we listen to these words while the above people were neither baptized nor were they eaters of the flesh and drinkers of the blood of our Lord, and have life in heaven ?

Answer.—I have told thee to listen to the inspired books with a discriminating mind. Our Lord told these things to those who *voluntarily* refrained from baptism and from His flesh and blood, and He did not tell them to the believers who *involuntarily* abstained from baptism and from His holy body and blood ; behold to the scribe who had accepted His word He said, “ Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God,”⁴ and not “ Thou art the heir of *Gehenna* ”.

¹ Lit. “ Because the affair of baptism and of the Holy Body is called from where it is imparted ”.

² John iii. 5.

³ John vi. 53.

⁴ Mark xii. 34.

31. *Question.*—I accept with reverence all the solutions you gave to these questions, and I want to ask one more question : “ Will children and babes who quit this world rise in the day of Resurrection at the same age as that they had when they departed, or will they rise at a mature age ?

Answer.—In the Resurrection the Creator will by His power remove all the defects which the bodies of men had in this world, and will quicken the bodies blameless and perfect in form, at the age of thirty years. If somebody says “ How do you know that ? ” we will answer, “ Immediately after the creation of Adam (God’s) order was imposed upon him ”.¹ Further, after the law was given to the Israelites God ordered them that a man of thirty years shall do the work of the tabernacle and of priesthood.² Our Lord also came to baptism at the age of thirty years.³ The Messiah, our Lord, is called the second Adam, because He is from His race and family, because He is similar to him, and because He paid his debt ; and inasmuch as Adam was created at the age of thirty years, and our Lord came to baptism at the age of thirty years, at this same age shall we all rise up without any sickness, fracture, mutilation, and wounds in our limbs. There is there neither old nor young, but all mankind will rise up at the same age.

32. *Question.*—Is the death of all men from God, or is their death and their departure from this world from other causes of a diverse character ?

Answer.—The death of all men may be from God and may also be from various causes. There is a natural death, a violent death, and there is death by misadventure, and by suicide. Men die by one of these four deaths and depart. The natural death is that which has been imposed by God upon Adam and all his posterity, because he transgressed His commandment. The violent death is that of Abel and of the prophets, and of all those who are killed by the kings and the rulers of this world. The death by suicide is that of Saul and his armour-bearer, of Ahithophel, of Judas and of all those who voluntarily throw themselves into the sea or take a deadly poison. The

¹ The Eastern commentators, as we shall presently see, believed that God created Adam at the age of thirty years, and that immediately after his creation the order not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge was imposed upon him.

² Num. iv. 3.

³ Luke iii. 23.

death by misadventure is that of a man who throws a stone on another man or strikes him violently with his fist, or hurls at him something else, without having previously seen him. The Law has already warned us that "if a man goeth into the forest to hew wood, and the iron slippeth and striketh a man, that he die, the murderer is not liable to death, inasmuch as he did not desire it, and did not hate him from yesterday the third day".¹

33. *Question*.—The Agapæ which we hold at the commemoration of the dead what are they, and what is the reason of our holding them? There are people who say that it is in order that the souls of the dead may receive rest. It would be for the same reason that we feed the orphans, clothe the widows and the naked, and give rest to the weary.

Answer.—Those who utter such things are alien to the sacred Books, and on them is fulfilled the sentence of our Lord who said "Verily, verily, I say unto you, they have received their reward".² If the souls and spirits of men are to-day given rest, as they say, by the Agapæ which are held in their honour, what kind of rest will they be given in the day of Resurrection?³ The body having remained under earth, it would only be the soul that would receive a good reward both in this world and in the world to come; but the question is not as they assert, because the soul feels neither rest nor unrest apart from the body; neither the just have joy and happiness before the day of Resurrection, nor the unjust have fear and fright before the day of Resurrection. The souls of the dead have no perception, no consciousness that they may feel, as they say, joys or torments, rest or unrest. When the wife of a king and the wife of a beggar are pregnant, the son of the king has no rest while in the womb, nor has the son of the beggar any unhappiness while in the womb, until both are born, and then they are separated; for while the son of the king is luxuriously placed on the purple, the son of the beggar is thrown on mean stuff and worn-out patches. In this same manner the just and the sinners are equal in their deaths, till the day of Resurrection; neither the souls of the just receive the reward of their good works in order that God's promise may not be revoked, nor the souls of the sinners are

¹ Deut. xix. 5-6.

² Matt. vi. 2.

³ I.e. What, then, will be the reason of the day of Resurrection, since the reward has already been awarded and the punishment inflicted?

judged and tormented, in order that the judgment to come may not be without object ; they remain like foetuses in the wombs without knowledge, discernment, rest, or unrest.

In the wombs the wealthy and the poor, the slaves and the freemen, the kings and the wretched are equal ; neither the rich feel any delight nor the poor any want, but when they come to the world, the kings are distinguished by their dresses and their honour, and the wretched are known by their lowness and poverty. In this same way the souls of the just and of the unjust are equal till the day of Resurrection in which the bodies are born of the earth their mother, and the souls put on their bodies, as children put on dresses of all kind ; then the well-doers will receive their reward and dwell in light, and the evildoers will be thrown into the darkness.

The Agapæ, however, which we hold for our departed ones, are not held in vain, but in order that their sins and small imperfections, like light swearing and incontinence of the body, may be forgiven them. This we know from the kindness of our Lord, because there is no one amongst us who does not sin before Him. Behold, I have shown thee that the soul and the body rest together, and that the soul does not rest alone, as the feeble-minded have believed.

34. *Question.*—If a man is nominally Christian, while in his conduct he is wicked and perverse, indulging in sorcery, blasphemy, and other things of this kind, and if after his death Agapæ are held at his commemoration, and on their occasion the poor and the wretched eat and rest, how will he be helped in the day of Resurrection ?

Answer.—On him will be fulfilled the word of the Apostle, “ And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned in the fire, and have not love, I am nothing, and it profiteth me nothing ”.¹

35. *Question.*—What profit can, therefore, martyrs and children gather from their own commemorations ? Since our Lord said to His disciples when giving them His body and His blood, “ This do in commemoration (remembrance) of me ”.² What utility can martyrs and children have for this same commemoration, while they are themselves a commemoration to themselves ?

Answer.—It is neither our Lord nor the martyrs who profit by

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

² Luke xxii. 19.

the commemorations held for them, but it is those who hold these [festivals] who are to be guerdoned in the day of Resurrection on account of their love to their Lord, who is the requiter of their good works, and of the honour shown to His martyrs, who will be their intermediary rewarders, and of that shown to the children to whom heaven belongs.¹

36. *Question.*—Will the world disappear and end before the rising of the dead ?

Answer.—The world will not disappear and end before the rising of the dead, but our Lord will appear first and come with holy men and multitudes of angels, as it is written.² When the coming of our Lord has taken place, then His force will compel the nature of the earth to give back the dead, and the bodies of the men who were buried in it, and there will be for the souls a time of getting ready and preparation to enable them to receive their bodies together. If the world and all that it contains is to disappear before the rising of the dead, from where will the dead whose bodies are mixed up in the earth, rise up ? Those who say that the world will disappear before the rising of the dead are ignorant and stupid. (God) will not destroy the world before the rising of the dead, but will first quicken the dead to witness the passing away of this world, the vanishing of the elements, and the destruction of heaven and earth. The sun, the moon, and the stars will disappear, and then affliction will begin to overtake the mind of the wicked, and joy that of the just, for ever and ever.

¹ Cf. Matt. xix. 14.

² Cf. Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xix.

DRAGONS AND RAIN GODS.¹

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

AN adequate account of the development of the dragon-legend would represent the history of the expression of mankind's aspirations and fears during the past fifty centuries and more. For the dragon was evolved along with civilization itself. The search for the elixir of life, to turn back the years from old age and confer the boon of immortality, has been the great driving force that compelled men to build up the material and the intellectual fabric of civilization. The dragon-legend is the history of that search which has been preserved by popular tradition : it has grown up and kept pace with the constant struggle to grasp the unattainable goal of men's desires ; and the story has been constantly growing in complexity, as new incidents were drawn within its scope and confused with old incidents whose real meaning was forgotten or distorted. It has passed through all the phases with which the study of the spreading of rumours or the development of dreams has familiarized students of psychology. The simple original stories, which become blended and confused, their meaning distorted and reinterpreted by the rationalizing of incoherent incidents, are given the dramatic form with which the human mind invests all stories that make a strong appeal to its emotions, and then secondarily elaborated with a wealth of circumstantial detail. This is the history of popular legends and the development of rumours. But these phenomena are displayed in their most emphatic form in dreams.² In his waking state man restrains his roving fancies and exercises what Freud has called a "censorship" over the stream of his thoughts : but when he falls asleep, the "censor" dozes also ; and free rein is given to his un-

¹ An elaboration of a Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 8 November, 1916.

² In his lecture, "Dreams and Primitive Culture," delivered at the John Rylands Library on 10 April, 1918, Dr. Rivers has expounded the principles of dream-development.

restrained fancies to make a hotch-potch of the most varied and unrelated incidents, and to create a fantastic mosaic built up from fragments of his actual experience, bound together by the cement of his aspirations and fears. The myth resembles the dream because it has developed without any consistent and effective censorship. The individual who tells one particular phase of the story may exert the controlling influence of his mind over the version he narrates : but as it is handed on from man to man and generation to generation the " censorship " also is constantly changing. This lack of unity of control implies that the development of the myth is not unlike the building-up of a dream-story. But the dragon-myth is vastly more complex than any dream, because mankind as a whole has taken a hand in the process of shaping it ; and the number of centuries devoted to this work of elaboration has been far greater than the years spent by the average individual in accumulating the stuff of which most of his dreams have been made. But though the myth is enormously complex, so vast a mass of detailed evidence concerning every phase and every detail of its history has been preserved, both in the literature and the folk-lore of the world, that we are able to submit it to psychological analysis and determine the course of its development and the significance of every incident in its tortuous rambling.

In instituting these comparisons between the development of myths and dreams, I should like to emphasize the fact that the interpretation of the *myth* proposed in these pages is almost diametrically opposed to that suggested by Freud, and pushed to a *reductio ad absurdum* by his more reckless followers, and especially by Jung.

The dragon has been described as " the most venerable symbol employed in ornamental art and the favourite and most highly decorative motif in artistic design ". It has been the inspiration of much, if not most, of the world's great literature in every age and clime, and the nucleus around which a wealth of ethical symbolism has accumulated throughout the ages. The dragon-myth represents also the earliest doctrine or systematic theory of astronomy and meteorology.

In the course of its romantic and chequered history the dragon has been identified with all of the gods and all of the demons of every religion. But it is most intimately associated with the earliest stratum of divinities, for it has been homologized with each of the members of the earliest Trinity, the Great Mother, the Water God, and the

Warrior Sun God, both individually and collectively. To add to the complexities of the story, the dragon-slayer is also represented by the same deities, either individually or collectively ; and the weapon with which the hero slays the dragon is also homologous both with him and his victim, for it is animated by him who wields it, and its powers of destruction make it a symbol of the same power of evil which it itself destroys.

Such a fantastic paradox of contradictions has supplied the materials with which the fancies of men of every race and land, and every stage of knowledge and ignorance, have been playing for all these centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that an endless series of variations of the story has been evolved, each decked out with topical allusions and distinctive embellishments. But throughout the complex tissue of this highly embroidered fabric the essential threads of the web and woof of its foundation can be detected with surprising constancy and regularity.

Within the limits of such an account as this it is obvious that I can deal only with the main threads of the argument and leave the interesting details of the local embellishments until some other time.

The fundamental element in the dragon's powers is the control of water. Both in its beneficent and destructive aspects water was regarded as animated by the dragon, who thus assumed the rôle of Osiris or his enemy Set. But when the attributes of the Water God became confused with those of the Great Mother, and her evil avatar, the lioness (Sekhet) form of Hathor in Egypt, or in Babylonia the destructive Tiamat, became the symbol of disorder and chaos, the dragon became identified with her also.

Similarly the third member of the Earliest Trinity also became the dragon. As the son and successor of the dead king Osiris the living king Horus became assimilated with him. When the belief became more and more insistent that the dead king had acquired the boon of immortality and was really alive, the distinction between him and the actually living king Horus became correspondingly minimized. This process of assimilation was advanced a further stage when the king became a god and was thus more closely identified with his father and predecessor. Hence Horus assumed many of the functions of Osiris ; and amongst them those which in foreign lands contributed to making a dragon of the Water God. But if the distinction be-

tween Horus and Osiris became more and more attenuated with the lapse of time, the identification with his mother Hathor (Isis) was more complete still. For he took her place and assumed many of her attributes in the later versions of the great saga which is the nucleus of all the literature of mythology—I refer to the story of “The Destruction of Mankind”.

The attributes of these three members of the Trinity, Hathor, Osiris, and Horus, thus became intimately linked the one with the other; and in Susa, where the earliest pictorial representation of a real dragon developed, it received concrete form (Fig. 1) as a monster compounded of the lioness of Hathor (Sekhet) with the falcon (or eagle) of Horus, but with the human attributes and water-controlling powers which originally belonged to Osiris. In some parts of Africa



FIG. 1.—EARLY REPRESENTATION OF A “DRAGON” COMPOUNDED OF THE FOREPART OF AN EAGLE AND THE HINDPART OF A LION—(from an Archaic Cylinder-seal from Susa, after Jequier).



FIG. 2.—THE EARLIEST BABYLONIAN CONCEPTION OF THE DRAGON TIAMAT—(from a Cylinder-seal in the British Museum, after L. W. King).

the earliest “dragon” was nothing more than Hathor’s cow or the gazelle or antelope of Horus (Osiris) or of Set.

But if the dragon was compounded of all three deities, who was the slayer of the evil dragon?

The story of the dragon-conflict is really a recital of Horus’s vendetta against Set, intimately blended and confused with different versions of “The Destruction of Mankind”.¹ The commonplace incidents of the originally prosaic stories were distorted into an almost unrecognizable form, then secondarily elaborated without any attention to their original meaning, but with a wealth of circumstantial embellishment, in accordance with the usual methods of the human mind that I have already mentioned. The history of the legend is in fact the most complete, because it is the oldest and the most widespread, illustration of those instinctive tendencies of the human spirit to bridge the

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 350 *et seq.*

gaps in its disjointed experience, and to link together in a kind of mental mosaic the otherwise isolated incidents in the facts of daily life and the rumours and traditions that have been handed down from the story-teller's predecessors.

In the "Destruction of Mankind," which I shall discuss more fully in the following pages (p. 350 *et seq.*), Hathor does the slaying: in the later stories Horus takes his mother's place and earns his spurs as the Warrior Sun-god:¹ hence confusion was inevitably introduced between the enemies of Re, the original victims in the legend, and Horus's traditional enemies, the followers of Set. Against the latter it was Osiris himself who fought originally; and in many of the non-Egyptian variants of the legend it is the rain-god himself who is the warrior.

Hence all three members of the Trinity were identified, not only with the dragon, but also with the hero who was the dragon-slayer.

But the weapon used by the latter was also animated by the same Trinity, and in fact identified with them. In the Saga of the Winged Disk, Horus assumed the form of the sun equipped with the wings of his own falcon and the fire-spitting uræus serpents. Flying down from heaven in this form he was at the same time the god and the god's weapon. As a fiery bolt from heaven he slew the enemies of Re, who were now identified with his own personal foes, the followers of Set. But in the earlier versions of the myth (i.e. the "Destruction of Mankind"), it was Hathor who was the "Eye of Re" and descended from heaven to destroy mankind with fire; she also was the vulture (Mut); and in the earliest version she did the slaughter with a knife or an axe with which she was animistically identified.

But Osiris also was the weapon of destruction, both in the form of the flood (for he was the personification of the river) and the rain-storms from heaven. But he was also an instrument for vanquishing the demon, when the intoxicating beer or the sedative drink (the potency of which was due to the indwelling spirit of the god) was the chosen means of overcoming the dragon.

This, in brief, is the framework of the dragon-story. The early Trinity as the hero, armed with the Trinity as weapon, slays the

¹ Hence soldiers killed in battle and women dying in childbirth receive special consideration in the exclusive heaven of (Osiris's) Horus's Indian and American representatives, Indra and Tlaloc.

dragon, which again is the same Trinity. With its illimitable possibilities for dramatic development and fantastic embellishment with incident and ethical symbolism, this theme has provided countless thousands of story-tellers with the skeleton which they clothed with the living flesh of their stories, representing not merely the earliest theories of astronomy and meteorology, but all the emotional conflicts of daily life, the struggle between light and darkness, heat and cold, right and wrong, justice and injustice, prosperity and adversity, wealth and poverty. The whole gamut of human strivings and emotions was drawn into the legend until it became the great epic of the human spirit and the main theme that has appealed to the interest of all mankind in every age.

An ancient Chinese philosopher, Wang Fu, writing in the time of the Han Dynasty, enumerates the "nine resemblances" of the dragon. "His horns resemble those of a stag, his head that of a camel, his eyes those of a demon, his neck that of a snake, his belly that of a clam, his scales those of a carp, his claws those of an eagle, his soles those of a tiger, his ears those of a cow."¹ But this list includes only a small minority of the menagerie of diverse creatures which at one time or another have contributed their quota to this truly astounding hotch-potch.

This composite wonder-beast ranges from Western Europe to the Far East of Asia, and as we shall see, also even across the Pacific to America. Although in the different localities a great number of most varied ingredients enter into its composition, in most places where the dragon occurs the substratum of its anatomy consists of a serpent or a crocodile, usually with the scales of a fish for covering, and the feet and wings, and sometimes also the head, of an eagle, falcon, or hawk, and the forelimbs and sometimes the head of a lion. An association of anatomical features of so unnatural and arbitrary a nature can only mean that all dragons are the progeny of the same ultimate ancestors.

But it is not merely a case of structural or anatomical similarity, but also of physiological identity, that clinches the proof of the derivation of this fantastic brood from the same parents. Wherever the dragon is found, it displays a special partiality for water. It controls the rivers or seas, dwells in pools or wells, or in the clouds on the tops

¹ M. W. de Visser, "The Dragon in China and Japan," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel XIII, No. 2, 1913, p. 70.*

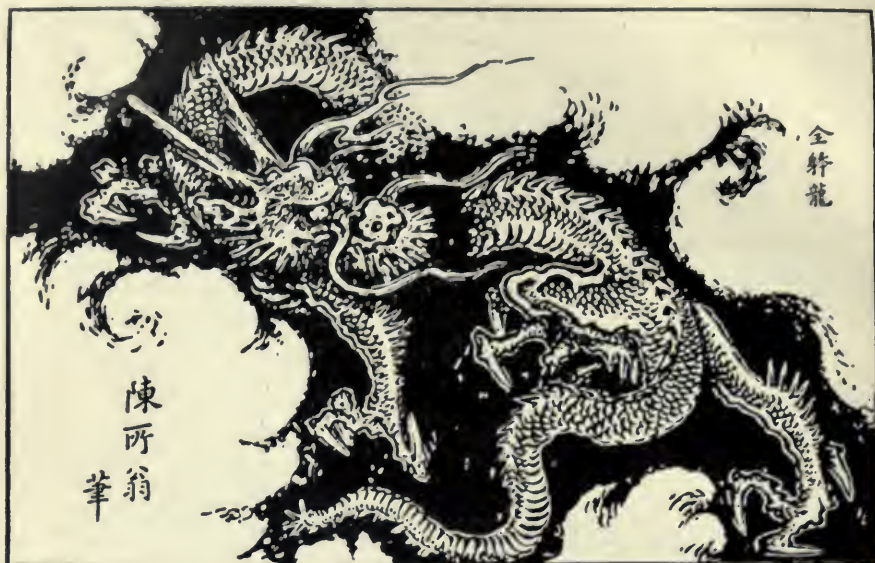


FIG. 4.—A MEDIEVAL PICTURE OF A CHINESE DRAGON UPON ITS CLOUD
(After the late Professor W. Anderson)



FIG. 5.—A CHINESE DRAGON
(After de Groot)



FIG. 6.—DRAGON FROM THE ISHTAR GATE OF BABYLON



FIG. 7.—BABYLONIAN WEATHER GOD

of mountains, regulates the tides, the flow of streams, or the rainfall, and is associated with thunder and lightning. Its home is a mansion at the bottom of the sea, where it guards vast treasures, usually pearls, but also gold and precious stones. In other instances the dwelling is upon the top of a high mountain; and the dragon's breath forms the rain-clouds. It emits thunder and lightning. Eating the dragon's heart enables the diner to acquire the knowledge stored in this "organ of the mind" so that he can understand the language of birds, and in fact of all the creatures that have contributed to the making of a dragon.

It should not be necessary to rebut the numerous attempts that have been made to explain the dragon-myth as a story relating to extinct monsters. Such fantastic claims can be made only by writers devoid of any knowledge of palæontology or of the distinctive features of the dragon and its history. But when the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, in a book that is not intended to be humorous,¹ seriously claims Dr. Andrews' discovery of a gigantic fossil snake as "proof" of the former existence of "the great serpent-devil Āpep," it is time to protest.

Those who attempt to derive the dragon from such living creatures as lizards like *Draco volans* or *Moloch horridus*² ignore the evidence of the composite and unnatural features of the monsters.

"Whatever be the origin of the Northern dragon, the myths, when they first became articulate for us, show him to be in all essentials the same as that of the South and East. He is a power of evil, guardian of hoards, the greedy withholder of good things from men; and the slaying of a dragon is the crowning achievement of heroes—of Siegmund, of Beowulf, of Sigurd, of Arthur, of Tristram—even of Lancelot, the *beau-ideal* of mediæval chivalry" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. viii., p. 467). But if in the West the dragon is usually a "power of evil," in the far East he is equally emphatically a symbol of beneficence. He is identified with emperors and kings; he is the son of heaven, the bestower of all bounties, not merely to mankind directly, but also to the earth as well.

Even in our country his symbolism is not always wholly malevolent

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge, "The Gods of the Egyptians," 1904, vol. i., p. 11.

² Gould's "Mythical Monsters," 1886.

otherwise—if for the moment we shut our eyes to the history of the development of heraldic ornament—dragons would hardly figure as the supporters of the arms of the City of London, and as the symbol of many of our aristocratic families, among which the Royal House of Tudor is included. It is only a few years since the Red Dragon of Cadwallader was added as an additional badge to the achievement of the Prince of Wales. But, “though a common ensign in war, both in the East and the West, as an ecclesiastical emblem his opposite qualities have remained consistently until the present day. Whenever the dragon is represented, it symbolizes the power of evil, the devil and his works. Hell in mediæval art is a dragon with gaping jaws, belching fire.”

And in the East the dragon's reputation is not always blameless. For it figures in some disreputable incidents and does not escape the sort of punishment that tradition metes out to his European cousins.

THE DRAGON IN AMERICA AND EASTERN ASIA.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably also even for two or three hundred years earlier still, the leaven of the ancient civilizations of the Old World was at work in Mexico, Central America and Peru. The most obtrusive influences that were brought to bear, especially in the area from Yucatan to Mexico, were inspired by the Cambodian and Indonesian modifications of Indian beliefs and practices. The god who was most often depicted upon the ancient Maya and Aztec codices was the Indian rain-god Indra, who in America was provided with the head of the Indian elephant¹ (i.e. seems to have been confused with the Indian Ganesa) and given other attributes more suggestive of the Dravidian Nâga than his enemy, the Aryan deity. In other words the character of the American god, known as *Chac* by the Maya people and as *Tlaloc* by the Aztecs, is an interesting illustration of the effects of such a mixture of cultures as Dr. Rivers has studied in Melanesia.² Not only does the elephant-headed god in America represent a blend of the two great Indian rain-gods which in the Old World are mortal enemies, the one of the other (partly for

¹ “Precolumbian Representations of the Elephant in America,” *Nature*, Nov. 25, 1915, p. 340; Dec. 16, 1915, p. 425; and Jan. 27, 1916, p. 593

² “History of Melanesian Society,” Cambridge, 1914.

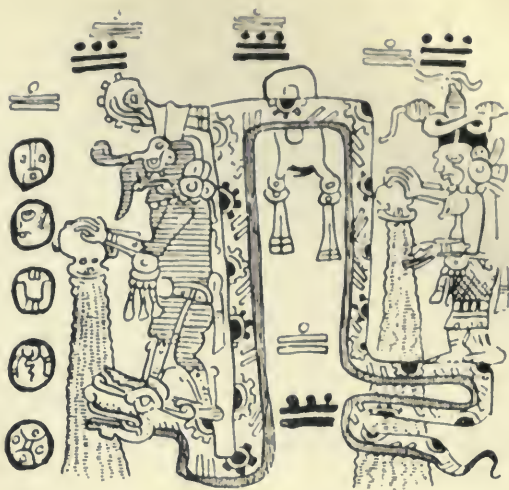


FIG. 8.—REPRODUCTION OF A PICTURE IN THE MAYA CODEX TROANO REPRESENTING THE RAIN-GOD *CHAC* TREADING UPON THE SERPENT'S HEAD, WHICH IS INTERPOSED BETWEEN THE EARTH AND THE RAIN THE GOD IS POURING OUT OF A BOWL. A RAIN-GODDESS STANDS UPON THE SERPENT'S TAIL.



FIG. 9.—ANOTHER REPRESENTATION OF THE ELEPHANT-HEADED RAIN-GOD. HE IS HOLDING THUNDERBOLTS, CONVENTIONALISED IN A HAND-LIKE FORM. THE SERPENT IS CONVERTED INTO A SAC, HOLDING UP THE RAIN-WATERS.

the political reason that the Dravidians and Aryans were rival and hostile peoples), but all the traits of each deity, even those depicting the old Aryan conception of their deadly combat, are reproduced in America under circumstances which reveal an ignorance on the part of the artists of the significance of the paradoxical contradictions they are representing. But even many incidents in the early history of the Vedic gods, which were due to arbitrary circumstances in the growth of the legends, reappear in America. To cite one instance (out of scores which might be quoted), in the Vedic story Indra assumed many of the attributes of the god Soma. In America the name of the god of rain and thunder, the Mexican Indra, is *Tlaloc*, which is generally translated "pulque of the earth," from *tlal*[*l*]i, "earth," and *oc*[*tl*], "pulque, a fermented drink (like the Indian drink *soma*) made from the juice of the agave".¹

The so-called "long-nosed god" (the elephant-headed rain-god) has been given the non-committal designation "god B," by Schellhas.²

I reproduce here a remarkable drawing (Fig. 8) from the Codex Troano, in which this god, whom the Maya people called *Chac*, is shown pouring the rain out of a water-jar (just as the deities of Babylonia and India are often represented), and putting his foot upon the head of a serpent, who is preventing the rain from reaching the earth. Here we find depicted with childlike simplicity and directness the Vedic conception of Indra overcoming the demon Vritra. Stempell describes this scene as "the elephant-headed god B standing upon the head of a serpent";³ while Seler, who claims that god B is a tortoise, explains it as the serpent forming a footstool for the rain-god.⁴ In the

¹ H. Beuchat, "Manuel d' Archéologie Americaine," 1912, p. 319.

² "Representation of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts," *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. iv., 1904.

³ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. 40, 1908, p. 716.

⁴ "Die Tierbilder der mexikanischen und der Maya-Handschriften," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. 42, 1910, pp. 75 and 77. In the remarkable series of drawings from Maya and Aztec sources reproduced by Seler in his articles in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, the *Peabody Museum Papers*, and his monograph on the *Codex Vaticanus*, not only is practically every episode of the dragon-myth of the Old World graphically depicted, but also every phase and incident of the legends from India (and Babylonia, Egypt and the Ægean) that contributed to the building-up of the myth.

Codex Cortes the same theme is depicted in another way, which is truer to the Indian conception of Vritra, as "the restrainer"¹ (Fig. 9).

The serpent (the American rattlesnake) restrains the water by coiling itself into a sac to hold up the rain and so prevent it from reaching the earth. In the various American codices this episode is depicted in as great a variety of forms as the Vedic poets of India described when they sang of the exploits of Indra. The Maya Chac is, in fact, Indra transferred to the other side of the Pacific and there only thinly disguised by a veneer of American stylistic design.

But the Aztec god Tlaloc is merely the Chac of the Maya people transferred to Mexico. Schellhas declares that the "god B," the "most common figure in the codices," is a "universal deity to whom the most varied elements, natural phenomena, and activities are subject". "Many authorities consider God B to represent Kukulcan, the Feathered Serpent, whose Aztec equivalent is Quetzalcoatl. Others identify him with Itzamna, the Serpent God of the East, or with Chac, the Rain God of the four quarters and the equivalent of Tlaloc of the Mexicans."²

From the point of view of its Indian analogies these confusions are peculiarly significant, for the same phenomena are found in India. The snake and the dragon can be either the rain-god of the East or the enemy of the rain-god; either the dragon-slayer or the evil dragon who has to be slain. The Indian word *Nâga*, which is applied to the beneficent god or king identified with the cobra, can also mean "elephant," and this double significance probably played a part in the confusion of the deities in America.

In the Dresden Codex the elephant-headed god is represented in one place grasping a serpent, in another issuing from a serpent's mouth, and again as an actual serpent (Fig. 10). Turning next to the attributes of these American gods we find that they reproduce with amazing precision those of Indra. Not only were they the divinities who controlled rain, thunder, lightning, and vegetation, but they also carried axes and thunderbolts (Fig. 10) like their homologues in the Old World. Like Indra, Tlaloc was intimately associated with the East and with the tops of mountains, where he had a special heaven, reserved for

¹ Compare Hopkins, "Religions of India," p. 94.

² Herbert J. Spinden, "Maya Art," p. 62.

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Fig. 10.

A photographic reproduction of the 36th page of the Dresden Maya Codex.

Of the three pictures in the top row one represents the elephant-headed god *Chac* with a snake's body. He is pouring out rain. The central picture represents the lightning animal carrying fire down from heaven to earth. On the right *Chac* is shown in human guise carrying thunderweapons in the form of burning torches.

In the second row a goddess sits in the rain: her head is prolonged into that of a bird, holding a fish in its beak. The central picture shows *Chac* in his boat ferrying a woman across the water from the East. The third illustration depicts the familiar conflict between the vulture and serpent.

In the third row *Chac* is seen with his axe: in the central picture he is standing in the water looking up towards a rain-cloud; and on the right he is shown sitting in a hut resting from his labours.



FIG. 10.—A PAGE (THE 36TH) OF THE DRESDEN MAYA CODEX



warriors who fell in battle and women who died in childbirth. As a water-god also he presided over the souls of the drowned and those who in life suffered from dropsical affections. Indra also specialized in the same branch of medicine.

In fact, if one compares the account of Tlaloc's attributes and achievements, such as is given in Mr. Joyce's "Mexican Archæology" or Professor Seler's monograph on the "Codex Vaticanus," with Professor Hopkins's summary of Indra's character ("Religions of India") the identity is so exact, even in the most arbitrary traits and confusions with other deities' peculiarities, that it becomes impossible for any serious investigator to refuse to admit that Tlaloc and Chac are merely American forms of Indra. Even so fantastic a practice as the representation of the American rain-god's face as composed of contorted snakes¹ finds its analogy in Siam, where in relatively recent times this curious device was still being used by artists.²

"As the god of fertility maize belonged to him [Tlaloc], though not altogether by right, for according to one legend he stole it after it had been discovered by other gods concealed in the heart of a mountain."³ Indra also obtained soma from the mountain by similar means.⁴

In the ancient civilization of America one of the most prominent deities was called the "Feathered Serpent," in the Maya language, Kukulkan, Quiché Gukumatz, Aztec Quetzalcoatl, the Pueblo "Mother of Waters". Throughout a very extensive part of America the snake, like the Indian Nâga, is the emblem of rain, clouds, thunder and lightning. But it is essentially and pre-eminently the symbol of rain; and the god who controls the rain, Chac of the Mayas, Tlaloc of the Aztecs, carried the axe and the thunderbolt like his homologues and prototypes in the Old World. In America also we find reproduced in full, not only the legends of the antagonism between the

¹ Seler, "Codex Vaticanus," Figs. 299-304.

² See, for example, F. W. K. Müller, "Nang," *Int. Arch. f. Ethnolog.*, 1894, Suppl. zu Bd. vii., Taf. vii., where the mask of *Ravana* (a late surrogate of Indra in the *Ramayana*) reveals a survival of the prototype of the Mexican designs.

³ Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴ For the incident of the stealing of the soma by Garuda, who in this legend is the representative of Indra, see Hopkins, "Religions of India," pp. 360-61.

thunder-bird and the serpent, but also the identification of these two rivals in one composite monster, which, as I have already mentioned, is seen in the winged disks, both in the Old World and the New.¹ Hardly any incident in the history of the Egyptian falcon or the thunder-birds of Babylonia, Greece or India, fails to reappear in America and find pictorial expression in the Maya and Aztec codices.

What makes America such a rich storehouse of historical data is the fact that it is stretched across the world almost from pole to pole; and for many centuries the jetsam and flotsam swept on to this vast strand has made it a museum of the cultural history of the Old World, much of which would have been lost for ever if America had not saved it. But a record preserved in this manner is necessarily in a highly confused state. For essentially the same materials reached America in manifold forms. The original immigrants into America brought from North-Eastern Asia such cultural equipment as had reached the area east of the Yenesei at the time when Europe was in the Neolithic phase of culture. Then when ancient mariners began to coast along the Eastern Asiatic littoral and make their way to America by the Aleutian route there was a further infiltration of new ideas. But when more venturesome sailors began to navigate the open seas and exploit Polynesia, for centuries² there was a more or less constant influx of customs and beliefs, which were drawn from Egypt and Babylonia, from the Mediterranean and East Africa, from India and Indonesia, China and Japan, Cambodia and Oceania. One and the same fundamental idea, such as the attributes of the serpent as a water-god, reached America in an infinite variety of guises, Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese, and from this amazing jumble of confusion the local priesthood of Central America built up a system of beliefs which is distinctively American, though most of the ingredients and the principles of synthetic composition were borrowed from the Old World.

Every possible phase of the early history of the dragon-story and all the ingredients which in the Old World went to the making

¹ "The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1916, Fig. 4, "The Serpent-Bird".

² Probably from about 300 B.C. to 700 A.D.

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Fig. 11.

A. The so-called "sea-goat" of Babylonia, a creature compounded of the antelope and fish of Ea.

B. The "sea-goat" as the vehicle of Ea or Marduk.

C to K—a series of varieties of the *makara* from the Buddhist Ralls at Buddha Gaya and Mathura, circa 70 B.C.—70 A.D., after Cunningham ("Archæological Survey of India," Vol. III, 1873, Plates IX and XXIX).

L. The *makara* as the vehicle of Varuna, after Sir George Birdwood. It is not difficult to understand how, in the course of the easterly diffusion of culture, such a picture should develop into the Chinese Dragon or the American Elephant-headed God.



FIG. II.

of it have been preserved in American pictures and legends in a bewildering variety of forms and with an amazing luxuriance of complicated symbolism and picturesque ingenuity. In America, as in India and Eastern Asia, the power controlling water was identified both with a serpent (which in the New World, as in the Old, was often equipped with such inappropriate and arbitrary appendages, as wings, horns and crests) and a god, who was either associated or confused with an elephant. Now many of the attributes of these gods, as personifications of the life-giving powers of water, are identical with those of the Babylonian god Ea and the Egyptian Osiris, and their reputations as warriors with the respective sons and representatives, Marduk and Horus. The composite animal of Ea-Marduk, the "sea-goat" (the Capricornus of the Zodiac), was also the vehicle of Varuna in India, whose relationship to Indra was in some respects analogous to that of Ea to Marduk in Babylonia.¹ The Indian "sea-goat" or *Makara* was in fact intimately associated both with Varuna and with Indra. This monster assumed a great variety of forms, such as the crocodile, the dolphin, the sea-serpent or dragon, or combinations of the heads of different animals with a fish's body (Fig. 11). Amongst these we find an elephant-headed form of the *makara*, which was adopted as far east as Indonesia and as far west as Scotland.

I have already called attention² to the part played by the *makara* in determining the development of the form of the elephant-headed god in America. Another form of the *makara* is described in the following American legend, which is interesting also as a mutilated version of the original dragon-story of the Old World.

In 1912 Hernández translated and published a Maya manuscript³ which had been written out in Spanish characters in the early days

¹ For information concerning Ea's "Goat-Fish," which can truly be called the "Father of Dragons," as well as the prototype of the Indian *makara*, the mermaid, the "sea-serpent," the "dolphin of Aphrodite," and of most composite sea-monsters, see W. H. Ward's "Seal Cylinders of Western Asia," pp. 382 *et seq.* and 399 *et seq.*; and especially the detailed reports in de Morgan's *Mémoires* (Délégation en Perse).

² *Nature*, *op. cit.*, *supra*.

³ Juan Martínez Hernández, "La Creación del Mundo según los Mayas," Páginas Inéditas del MS. De Chumayel, *International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings of the XVIII. Session, London, 1912*, p. 164.

of the conquest of the Americas, but had been overlooked until six years ago. It is an account of the creation, and includes the following passages: "All at once came the water [? rain] after the dragon was carried away. The heaven was broken up; it fell upon the earth; and they say that *Cantul-ti-ku* (four gods), the four Baccab, were those who destroyed it. . . . 'The whole world,' said *Ah-uuc-chek-nale* (he who seven times makes fruitful), 'proceeded from the seven bosoms of the earth.' And he descended to make fruitful *Itzam-kab-ain* (the female whale with alligator-feet), when he came down from the central angle of the heavenly region" (p. 171).

Hernández adds that "the old fishermen of Yucatan still call the whale *Itzam*: this explains the name of *Itzaes*, by which the Mayas were known before the founding of Mayapan".

The close analogy to the Indra-story is suggested by the phrase describing the coming of the water "after the dragon was carried away". Moreover, the Indian sea-elephant *makara*, which was confused in the Old World with the dolphin of Aphrodite, and was sometimes also regarded as a crocodile, naturally suggests that the "female whale with the alligator-feet" was only an American version of the old Indian legend.

All this serves, not only to corroborate the inferences drawn from the other sources of information which I have already indicated, but also to suggest that, in addition to borrowing the chief divinities of their pantheon from India, the Maya people's original name was derived from the same mythology.¹

It is of considerable interest and importance to note that in the earliest dated example of Maya workmanship (from Tuxtla, in the Vera Cruz State of Mexico), for which Spinden assigns a tentative date of 235 B.C., an unmistakable elephant figures among the four hieroglyphs which Spinden reproduces (*op. cit.*, p. 171). A similar hieroglyphic sign is found in the Chinese records of the Early Chow Dynasty (John Ross, "The Origin of the Chinese People," 1916, p. 152).

The use of the numerals four and seven in the narrative translated

¹ From the folk-lore of America I have collected many interesting variants of the Indra story and other legends (and artistic designs) of the elephant. I hope to publish these in the near future.

by Hernández, as in so many other American documents, is itself, as Mrs. Zelia Nuttall has so conclusively demonstrated,¹ a most striking and conclusive demonstration of the link with the Old World.

Indra was not the only Indian god who was transferred to America, for all the associated deities, with the characteristic stories of their exploits,² are also found depicted with childlike directness of incident, but amazingly luxuriant artistic phantasy, in the Maya and Aztec codices.

We find scattered throughout the islands of the Pacific the familiar stories of the dragon. One mentioned by the Bishop of Wellington refers to a New Zealand dragon with jaws like a crocodile's, which spouted water like a whale. It lived in a fresh-water lake.³ In the same number of the same *Journal* Sir George Grey gives extracts from a Maori legend of the dragon, which he compares with corresponding passages from Spenser's "Faery Queen". "Their strict verbal and poetical conformity with the New Zealand legends are such as at first to lead to the impression either that Spenser must have stolen his images and language from the New Zealand poets, or that they must have acted unfairly by the English bard" (p. 362). The Maori legend describes the dragon as "in size large as a monstrous whale, in shape like a hideous lizard; for in its huge head, its limbs, its tail, its scales, its tough skin, its sharp spines, yes, in all these it resembled a lizard" (p. 364).

Now the attributes of the Chinese and Japanese dragon as the controller of rain, thunder and lightning are identical with those of the American elephant-headed god. It also is associated with the East and with the tops of mountains. It is identified with the Indian Nāga, but the conflict involved in this identification is less obtrusive than it is either in America or in India. In Dravidian India the rulers and the gods are identified with the serpent: but among the Aryans, who were hostile to the Dravidians, the rain-god is the enemy of the Nāga. In America the confusion becomes more pronounced because Tlaloc (Chac) represents both Indra and his enemy the serpent. The representation in the codices of his conflict with the serpent is merely a tra-

¹ *Peabody Museum Papers*, 1901.

² See, for example, Wilfrid Jackson's "Shells as Evidence of the Migration of Early Culture," pp. 50-66.

³ "Notes on the Maoris, etc.," *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, vol. i., 1869, p. 368.

dition which the Maya and Aztec scribes followed, apparently without understanding its meaning.

In China and Japan the Indra-episode plays a much less prominent part, for the dragon is, like the Indian Nāga, a beneficent creature, which approximates more nearly to the Babylonian Ea or the Egyptian Osiris. It is not only the controller of water, but the impersonation of water and its life-giving powers : it is identified with the emperor, with his standard, with the sky, and with all the powers that give, maintain, and prolong life and guard against all kinds of danger to life. In other words, it is the bringer of good luck, the rejuvenator of mankind, the giver of immortality.

But if the physiological functions of the dragon of the Far East can thus be assimilated to those of the Indian Nāga and the Babylonian and Egyptian Water God, who is also the king, anatomically he is usually represented in a form which can only be regarded as the Babylonian composite monster, as a rule stripped of his wings, though not of his avian feet.

In America we find preserved in the legends of the Indians an accurate and unmistakable description of the Japanese dragon (which is mainly Chinese in origin). Even Spinden, who "does not care to dignify by refutation the numerous empty theories of ethnic connections between Central America" [and in fact America as a whole] "and the Old World," makes the following statement (in the course of a discussion of the myths relating to horned snakes in California) : "a similar monster, possessing antlers, and sometimes wings, is also very common in Algonkin and Iroquois legends, although rare in art. As a rule the horned serpent is a water spirit and an enemy of the thunder bird. Among the Pueblo Indians the horned snake seems to have considerable prestige in religious belief. . . . It lives in the water or in the sky and is connected with rain or lightning."¹

Thus we find stories of a dragon equipped with those distinctive tokens of Chinese origin, the deer's antlers ; and along with it a snake with less specialized horns suggesting the Cerastes of Egypt and Babylonia. A horned viper distantly akin to the Cerastes of the Old World does occur in California ; but its "horns" are so insignificant as to make it highly improbable that they could have been in any way responsible for the obtrusive role played by horns in these widespread

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

American stories. But the proof of the foreign origin of these stories is established by the horned serpent's achievements.

It "lives in the water or the sky" like its homologue in the Old World, and it is "a water spirit". Now neither the Cobra nor the Cerastes is actually a water serpent. Their achievements in the myths therefore have no possible relationship with the natural habits of the real snakes. They are purely arbitrary attributes which they have acquired as the result of a peculiar and fortuitous series of historical incidents.

It is therefore utterly inconceivable and in the highest degree improbable that this long chain of chance circumstances should have happened a second time in America, and have been responsible for the creation of the same bizarre story in reference to one of the rarer American snakes of a localized distribution, whose horns are mere vestiges, which no one but a trained morphologist is likely to have noticed or recognized as such.

But the American horned serpent, like its Babylonian and Indian homologues, is also the enemy of the thunder bird. Here is a further corroboration of the transmission to America of ideas which were the chance result of certain historical events in the Old World, which I have mentioned in this lecture.

In the figure on page 335 I reproduce a remarkable drawing of an American dragon. If the Algonkin Indians had not preserved legends of a winged serpent equipped with deer's antlers, no value could be assigned to this sketch: but as we know that this particular tribe retains the legend of just such a wonder-beast, we are justified in treating this drawing as something more than a jest.

"Petroglyphs are reported by Mr. John Criley as occurring near Ava, Jackson County, Illinois. The outlines of the characters observed by him were drawn from memory and submitted to Mr. Charles S. Mason, of Toledo, Ohio, through whom they were furnished to the Bureau of Ethnology. Little reliance can be placed upon the accuracy of such drawing, but from the general appearance of the sketches the originals of which they are copies were probably made by one of the middle Algonquin tribes of Indians.¹

¹I quote this and the following paragraphs verbatim from Garrick Mallory, "Picture Writing of the American Indians," *10th Annual Report, 1888-89, Bureau of Ethnology (Smithsonian Institute)*, p. 78.

"The 'Piasa' rock, as it is generally designated, was referred to by the missionary explorer Marquette in 1675. Its situation was immediately above the city of Alton, Illinois."

Marquette's remarks are translated by Dr. Francis Parkman as follows :—

"On the flat face of a high rock were painted, in red, black, and green, a pair of monsters, each 'as large as a calf, with horns like a deer, red eyes, a beard like a tiger, and a frightful expression of countenance. The face is something like that of a man, the body covered with scales; and the tail so long that it passes entirely round the body, over the head, and between the legs, ending like that of a fish.'"

Another version, by Davidson and Struve, of the discovery of the petroglyph is as follows :—

"Again they (Joliet and Marquette) were floating on the broad bosom of the unknown stream. Passing the mouth of the Illinois, they soon fell into the shadow of a tall promontory, and with great astonishment beheld the representation of two monsters painted on its lofty limestone front. According to Marquette, each of these frightful figures had the face of a man, the horns of a deer, the beard of a tiger, and the tail of a fish so long that it passed around the body, over the head, and between the legs. It was an object of Indian worship and greatly impressed the mind of the pious missionary with the necessity of substituting for this monstrous idolatry the worship of the true God."

A footnote connected with the foregoing quotation gives the following description of the same rock :—

"Near the mouth of the Piasa creek, on the bluff, there is a smooth rock in a cavernous cleft, under an overhanging cliff, on whose face 50 feet from the base, are painted some ancient pictures or hieroglyphics, of great interest to the curious. They are placed in a horizontal line from east to west, representing men, plants and animals. The paintings, though protected from dampness and storms, are in great part destroyed, marred by portions of the rock becoming detached and falling down."

Mr. McAdams, of Alton, Illinois, says, "The name Piasa is Indian and signifies, in the Illini, the bird which devours men". He furnishes a spirited pen-and-ink sketch, 12 by 15 inches in size and purporting to represent the ancient painting described by Marquette.

On the picture is inscribed the following in ink: "Made by Wm. Dennis, April 3rd, 1825". The date is in both letters and figures. On the top of the picture in large letters are the two words, "FLYING DRAGON". This picture, which has been kept in the old Gilham family of Madison county and bears the evidence of its age, is reproduced as Fig. 3.

He also publishes another representation with the following remarks:—

"One of the most satisfactory pictures of the Piasa we have ever seen is in an old German publication entitled 'The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated. Eighty illustrations from Nature, by H. Lewis, from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico,' published about the year 1839 by Arenz & Co., Dusseldorf, Germany. One of the



FIG. 3.—WM. DENNIS'S DRAWING OF THE "FLYING DRAGON" DEPICTED ON THE ROCKS AT PIASA, ILLINOIS.

large full-page plates in this work gives a fine view of the bluff at Alton, with the figure of the Piasa on the face of the rock. It is represented to have been taken on the spot by artists from Germany. . . . In the German picture there is shown just behind the rather dim outlines of the second face a ragged crevice, as though of a fracture. Part of the bluff's face might have fallen and thus nearly destroyed one of the monsters, for in later years writers speak of but one figure. The whole face of the bluff was quarried away in 1846-47."

The close agreement of this account with that of the Chinese and Japanese dragon at once arrests attention. The anatomical peculiarities are so extraordinary that if Père Marquette's account is trustworthy there is no longer any room for doubt of the Chinese or Japanese derivation of this composite creature. If the account is not accepted we will be driven, not only to attribute to the pious seventeenth-century missionary serious dishonesty or culpable gullibility, but also to credit him with

a remarkably precise knowledge of Mongolian archæology. When Algonkin legends are recalled, however, I think we are bound to accept the missionary's account as substantially accurate.

Minns claims that representations of the dragon are unknown in China before the Han dynasty. But the legend of the dragon is much more ancient. The evidence has been given in full by de Visser.¹

He tells us that the earliest reference is found in the *Yih King*, and shows that the dragon was "a water animal akin to the snake, which [used] to sleep in pools during winter and arises in the spring". "It is the god of thunder, who brings good crops when he appears in the rice fields (as rain) or in the sky (as dark and yellow clouds), in other words when he makes the rain fertilize the ground" (p. 38).

In the *Shu King* there is a reference to the dragon as one of the symbolic figures painted on the upper garment of the emperor Hwang Ti (who according to the Chinese legends, which of course are not above reproach, reigned in the twenty-seventh century B.C.). In this ancient literature there are numerous references to the dragon, and not merely to the legends, *but also to representations* of the benign monster on garments, banners and metal tablets.² "The ancient texts . . . are short, but sufficient to give us the main conceptions of Old China with regard to the dragon. In those early days [just as at present] he was the god of water, thunder, clouds, and rain, the harbinger of blessings, and the symbol of holy men. As the emperors are the holy beings on earth, the idea of the dragon being the symbol of Imperial power is based upon this ancient conception" (*op. cit.*, p. 42).

In the fifth appendix to the *Yih King*, which has been ascribed to Confucius (i.e. three centuries earlier than the Han dynasty mentioned by Mr. Minns), it is stated that "*K'ien* (Heaven) is a horse, *Kw'un* (Earth) is a cow, *Chen* (Thunder) is a dragon" (*op. cit.*, p. 37).³

The philosopher Hwai Nan Tsze (who died 122 B.C.) declared that the dragon is the origin of all creatures, winged, hairy, scaly, and

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35 *et seq.*

² See de Visser, p. 41.

³ There can be no doubt that the Chinese dragon is the descendant of the early Babylonian monster, and that the inspiration to create it probably reached Shensi during the third millennium B.C. by the route indicated in my "Incense and Libations" (*Bull. John Rylands Library*, vol. iv., No. 2, p. 239). Some centuries later the Indian dragon reached the Far East via Indonesia and mingled with his Babylonian cousin in Japan and China.

mailed ; and he propounded a scheme of evolution (de Visser, p. 65). He seems to have tried to explain away the fact that he had never actually witnessed the dragon performing some of the remarkable feats attributed to it : " Mankind cannot see the dragons rise : wind and rain assist them to ascend to a great height " (*op. cit.*, p. 65). Confucius also is credited with the frankness of a similar confession : " As to the dragon, we cannot understand his riding on the wind and clouds and his ascending to the sky. To-day I saw Lao Tsze ; is he not like the dragon ? " (p. 65).

This does not necessarily mean that these learned men were sceptical of the beliefs which tradition had forged in their minds, but that the dragon had the power of hiding itself in a cloak of invisibility, just as clouds (in which the Chinese saw dragons) could be dissipated in the sky. The belief in these powers of the dragon was as sincere as that of learned men of other countries in the beneficent attributes which tradition had taught them to assign to their particular deities. In the passages I have quoted the Chinese scholars were presumably attempting to bridge the gap between the ideas inculcated by faith and the evidence of their senses, in much the same sort of spirit as, for instance, actuated Dean Buckland last century, when he claimed that the glacial deposits of this country afforded evidence in confirmation of the Deluge described in the Book of Genesis.

The tiger and the dragon, the gods of wind and water, are the keystones of the doctrine called *fung shui*, which Professor de Groot has described in detail.¹

He describes it " as a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and how to build graves, temples, and dwellings, in order that the dead, the gods, and the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under the auspicious influences of Nature ". The dragon plays a most important part in this system, being " the chief spirit of water and rain, and at the same time representing one of the four quarters of heaven (i.e. the East, called the Azure Dragon, and the first of the seasons, spring). " The word Dragon comprises the high grounds in general, and the water streams which have their sources therein or wind their way through them.²

¹ " Religious System of China," vol. iii., chap. xii., pp. 936-1056.

² This paragraph is taken almost verbatim from de Visser, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 60.

The attributes thus assigned to the Blue Dragon, his control of water and streams, his dwelling on high mountains whence they spring, and his association with the East, will be seen to reveal his identity with the so-called "god B" of American archæologists, the elephant-headed god *Tlaloc* of the Aztecs, *Chac* of the Mayas, whose more direct parent was Indra.

It is of interest to note that, according to Gerini,¹ the word *Nāga* denotes not only a snake but also an elephant. Both the Chinese dragon and the Mexican elephant-god are thus linked with the *Nāga*, who is identified both with Indra himself and Indra's enemy *Vritra*. This is another instance of those remarkable contradictions that one meets at every step in pursuing the dragon. In the confusion resulting from the blending of hostile tribes and diverse cultures the Aryan deity who, both for religious and political reasons, is the enemy of the *Nāgas* becomes himself identified with a *Nāga*!

I have already called attention (*Nature*, Jan. 27, 1916) to the fact that the graphic form of representation of the American elephant-headed god was derived from Indonesian pictures of the *makara*. In India itself the *makara* (see Fig. 11) is represented in a great variety of forms, most of which are prototypes of different kinds of dragons. Hence the homology of the elephant-headed god with the other dragons is further established and shown to be genetically related to the evolution of the protean manifestations of the dragon's form.

The dragon in China is "the heavenly giver of fertilizing rain" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). In the *Shu King* "the emblematic figures of the ancients are given as the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragon, and the variegated animals (pheasants) which are depicted on the upper sacrificial garment of the Emperor" (p. 39). In the *Li Ki* the unicorn, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon are called the four *ling* (p. 39), which de Visser translates "spiritual beings," creatures with enormously strong vital spirit. The dragon possesses the most *ling* of all creatures (p. 64). The tiger is the deadly enemy of the dragon (p. 42).

The dragon sheds a brilliant light at night (p. 44), usually from his glittering eyes. He is the giver of omens (p. 45), good and bad,

¹G. E. Gerini, "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," *Asiatic Society's Monographs*, No. 1, 1909, p. 146.

rains and floods. The dragon-horse is a vital spirit of Heaven and Earth (p. 58) and also of river water: it has the tail of a huge serpent.

The ecclesiastical vestments of the Wu-ist priests are endowed with magical properties which are considered to enable the wearer to control the order of the world, to avert unseasonable and calamitous events, such as drought, untimely and superabundant rainfall, and eclipses. These powers are conferred by the decoration upon the dress. Upon the back of the chief vestment the representation of a range of mountains is embroidered as a symbol of the world: on each side (the right and left) of it a large dragon arises above the billows to represent the fertilizing rain. They are surrounded by gold-thread figures representing clouds and spirals typifying rolling thunder.¹

A ball, sometimes with a spiral decoration, is commonly represented in front of the Chinese dragon. The Chinese writer Koh Hung tells us that "a spiral denotes the rolling of thunder from which issues a flash of lightning".² De Visser discusses this question at some length and refers to Hirth's claim that the Chinese triquetrum, i.e., the well-known three-comma shaped figure, the Japanese *mitsu-tomoe*, the ancient spiral, represents thunder also.³ Before discussing this question, which involves the consideration of the almost world-wide belief in a thunder-weapon and its relationship to the spiral ornament, the octopus,

¹ De Visser, p. 102, and de Groot, vi., p. 1265, Plate XVIII. The reference to "a range of mountains . . . as a symbol of the world" recalls the Egyptian representation of the eastern horizon as two hills between which Hathor or her son arises (see Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. ii., p. 101; and compare Griffith's "Hieroglyphs," p. 30): the same conception was adopted in Mesopotamia (see Ward, "Seal Cylinders of Western Asia," fig. 412, p. 156) and in the Mediterranean (see Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," pp. 37 *et seq.*). It is a remarkable fact that Sir Arthur Evans, who, upon p. 64 of his memoir, reproduces two drawings of the Egyptian "horizon" supporting the sun's disk, should have failed to recognize in it the prototype of what he calls "the horns of consecration". Even if the confusion of the "horizon" with a cow's horns was very ancient (for the horns of the Divine Cow supporting the moon made this inevitable), this rationalization should not blind us as to the real origin of the idea, which is preserved in the ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Cretan and Chinese pictures (see Fig. 26, facing p. 188).

² De Visser, p. 103.

³ P. 104, The Chinese triquetrum has a circle in the centre and five or eight commas.

the pearl, the swastika and triskele, let us examine further the problem of the dragon's ball (see Fig. 12).

De Groot regards the dragon as a thunder-god and therefore, like Hirth, assumes that the supposed thunder-ball is being *belched forth* and not being *swallowed* by the dragon. But de Visser, as the result of a conversation with Mr. Kramp and the study of a Chinese picture in Blacker's "Chats on Oriental China" (1908, p. 54), puts forward the suggestion that the ball is the moon or the pearl-moon which the dragon is swallowing, thereby causing the fertilizing rain. The Chinese themselves refer to the ball as the "precious pearl," which, under the influence of Buddhism in China, was identified with "the pearl that grants all desires" and is under the special protection of the Nāga, i.e., the dragon. Arising out of this de Visser puts the conundrum: "Was the ball originally also a pearl, not of Buddhism but of Taoism?"

In reply to this question I may call attention to the fact that the germs of civilization were first planted in China by people strongly imbued with the belief that the pearl was the quintessence of life-giving and prosperity-conferring powers:¹ it was not only identified with the moon, but also was itself a particle of moon-substance which fell as dew into the gaping oyster. It was the very people who held such views about pearls and gold who, when searching for alluvial gold and fresh-water pearls in Turkestan, were responsible for transferring these same life-giving properties to jade; and the magical value thus attached to jade was the nucleus, so to speak, around which the earliest civilization of China was crystallized.

As we shall see, in the discussion of the thunder-weapon (p. 362), the luminous pearl, which was believed to have fallen from the sky, was homologized with the thunderbolt, with the functions of which its own magical properties were assimilated.

Kramp called de Visser's attention to the fact that the Chinese hieroglyphic character for the dragon's ball is compounded of the signs for *jewel* and *moon*, which is also given in a Japanese lexicon as *divine pearl*, the pearl of the bright moon.

"When the clouds approached and covered the moon, the ancient

¹ See on this my paper "The Origin of Early Siberian Civilization," now being published in the *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*.



FIG. 12.—PHOTOGRAPH OF A CHINESE EMBROIDERY IN THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF ART REPRESENTING THE DRAGON AND THE PEARL-MOON SYMBOL.

Chinese may have thought that the dragons had seized and swallowed this pearl, more brilliant than all the pearls of the sea" (de Visser, p. 108).

The difficulty de Visser finds in regarding his own theory as wholly satisfactory is, first, the red colour of the ball, and secondly, the spiral pattern upon it. He explains the colour as possibly an attempt to represent the pearl's lustre. But de Visser seems to have overlooked the fact that red and rose-coloured pearls obtained from the conch-shell were used in China and Japan.¹

"The spiral is much used in delineating the sacred pearls of Buddhism, so that it might have served also to design those of Taoism; although I must acknowledge that the spiral of the Buddhist pearl goes upward, while the spiral of the dragon is flat" (p. 103).

De Visser sums up the whole argument in these words:—

"These are, however, all mere suppositions. The only facts we know are: the eager attitude of the dragons, ready to grasp and swallow the ball; the ideas of the Chinese themselves as to the ball being the moon or a pearl; the existence of a kind of sacred "moon-pearl"; the red colour of the ball, its emitting flames and its spiral-like form. As the three last facts are in favour of the thunder theory, I should be inclined to prefer the latter. Yet I am convinced that the dragons do not *belch out* the thunder. If their trying to *grasp* or *swallow* the thunder could be explained, I should immediately accept the theory concerning the thunder-spiral, especially on account of the flames it emits. But I do not see the reason why the god of thunder should persecute thunder itself. Therefore, after having given the above facts that the reader may take them into consideration, I feel obliged to say: 'non liquet'" (p. 108).

It does not seem to have occurred to the distinguished Dutch scholar, who has so lucidly put the issue before us, that his demonstration of the fact of the ball being the pearl-moon about to be swallowed by the dragon does not preclude it being also confused with the thunder. Elsewhere in this volume I have referred to the origin of the spiral symbolism and have shown that it became associated with the pearl *before* it became the symbol of thunder. The pearl-association in fact was

¹ Wilfrid Jackson, "Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture," p. 106.

one of the links in the chain of events which made the pearl and the spirally-coiled arm of the octopus the sign of thunder.¹

It seems quite clear to me that de Visser's pearl-moon theory is the true interpretation. But when the pearl-ball was provided with the spiral, painted red, and given flames to represent its power of emitting light and shining by night, the fact of the spiral ornamentation and of the pearl being one of the surrogates of the thunder-weapon was rationalized into an identification of the ball with thunder and the light it was emitting as lightning. It is, of course, quite irrational for a thunder-god to swallow his own thunder : but popular interpretations of subtle symbolism, the true explanation of which is deeply buried in the history of the distant past, are rarely logical and almost invariably irrelevant.

In his account of the state of Brahmanism in India after the times of the two earlier Vedas, Professor Hopkins² throws light upon the real significance of the ball in the dragon-symbolism. "Old legends are varied. The victory over Vritra is now expounded thus : Indra, who slays Vritra, is the sun. Vritra is the moon, who swims into the sun's mouth on the night of the new moon. The sun rises after swallowing him, and the moon is invisible because he is swallowed. The sun vomits out the moon, and the latter is then seen in the west, and increases again, to serve the sun as food. In another passage it is said that when the moon is invisible he is hiding in plants and waters."

This seems to clear away any doubt as to the significance of the ball. It is the pearl-moon, which is both swallowed and vomited by the dragon.

The snake takes a more obtrusive part in the Japanese than in the Chinese dragon and it frequently manifests itself as a god of the sea. The old Japanese sea-gods were often female water-snakes. The cultural influences which reached Japan from the south by way of Indonesia—many centuries before the coming of Buddhism—naturally emphasized the serpent form of the dragon and its connexion with the ocean.

But the river-gods, or "water-fathers," were real four-footed dragons identified with the dragon-kings of Chinese myth, but at the

¹ I shall discuss this more fully in "The Birth of Aphrodite".

² "Religions of India," p. 197.

same time were strictly homologous with the Nāga Rajas or cobra-kings of India.

The Japanese "Sea Lord" or "Sea Snake" was also called "Abundant-Pearl-Prince," who had a magnificent palace at the bottom of the sea. His daughter ("Abundant-Pearl-Princess") married a youth whom she observed, reflected in the well, sitting on a cassia tree near the castle gate. Ashamed at his presence at her lying-in she was changed into a *wani* or crocodile (de Visser, p. 139), elsewhere described as a dragon (*makara*). De Visser gives it as his opinion that the *wani* is "an old Japanese dragon, or serpent-shaped sea-god, and the legend is an ancient Japanese tale, dressed in an Indian garb by later generations" (p. 140). He is arguing that the Japanese dragon existed long before Japan came under Indian influence. But he ignores the fact that at a very early date both India and China were diversely influenced by Babylonia, the great breeding place of dragons; and, secondly, that Japan was influenced by Indonesia, and through it by the West, for many centuries before the arrival of such later Indian legends as those relating to the palace under the sea, the castle gate and the cassia tree. As Aston (quoted by de Visser) remarks, all these incidents and also the well that serves as a mirror, "form a combination not unknown to European folklore".

After de Visser had given his own views, he modified them (on p. 141) when he learned that essentially the same dragon-stories had been recorded in the Kei Islands and Minahassa (Celebes). In the light of this new information he frankly admits that "the resemblance of several features of this myth with the Japanese one is so striking, that we may be sure that the latter is of Indonesian origin." He goes further when he recognizes that "probably the foreign invaders, who in prehistoric times conquered Japan, came from Indonesia, and brought the myth with them" (p. 141). The evidence recently brought together by W. J. Perry in his book "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia" makes it certain that the people of Indonesia in turn got it from the West.

An old painting reproduced by F. W. K. Müller,¹ who called de Visser's attention to these interesting stories, shows Hohodemi (the

¹ "Mythe der Kei-Insulaner und Verwandtes," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, vol. xxv., 1893, pp. 533 *et seq.*

youth on the cassia tree who married the princess) returning home mounted on the back of a crocodile, like the Indian Varuna upon the *makara* in a drawing reproduced by the late Sir George Birdwood.¹

The *wani* or crocodile thus introduced from India, *via* Indonesia, is really the Chinese and Japanese dragon, as Aston has claimed. Aston refers to Japanese pictures in which the Abundant-Pearl-Prince and his daughter are represented with dragon's heads appearing over their human ones, but in the old Indonesian version they maintain their forms as *wani* or crocodiles.

The dragon's head appearing over a human one is quite an Indian motive, transferred to China and from there to Korea and Japan (de Visser, p. 142), and, I may add, also to America.

[Since the foregoing paragraphs have been printed, the Curator of the Liverpool Museum has kindly called my attention to a remarkable series of Maya remains in the collection under his care, which were obtained in the course of excavations made by Mr. T. W. F. Gann, M.R.C.S., an officer in the Medical Service of British Honduras (see his account of the excavations in Part II. of the 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution of Washington). Among them is a pottery figure of a *wani* or *makara* in the form of an alligator, equipped with diminutive deer's horns (like the dragon of Eastern Asia); and its skin is studded with circular elevations, presumably meant to represent the spots upon the star-spangled "Celestial Stag" of the Aryans (p. 130). As in the Japanese pictures mentioned by Aston, a human head is seen emerging from the creature's throat. It affords a most definite and convincing demonstration of the sources of American culture.]

The jewels of flood and ebb in the Japanese legends consist of the pearls of flood and ebb obtained from the dragon's palace at the bottom of the sea. By their aid storms and floods could be created to destroy enemies or calm to secure safety for friends. Such stories are the logical result of the identification of pearls with the moon, the influence of which upon the tides was probably one of the circumstances which was responsible for bringing the moon into the circle of the great scientific theory of the life-giving powers of water. This in turn played a great, if not decisive, part in originating the earliest belief in a sky world, or heaven.

¹ See Fig. 11.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRAGON.

The American and Indonesian dragons can be referred back primarily to India, the Chinese and Japanese varieties to India and Babylonia. The dragons of Europe can be traced through Greek channels to the same ultimate source. But the cruder dragons of Africa are derived either from Egypt, from the Ægean, or from India. All dragons that strictly conform to the conventional idea of what such a wonder-beast should be can be shown to be sprung from the fertile imagination of ancient Sumer, the "great breeding place of monsters" (Minns).

But the history of the dragon's evolution and transmission to other countries is full of complexities; and the dragon-myth is made up of many episodes, some of which were not derived from Babylonia.

In Egypt we do not find the characteristic dragon and dragon-story. Yet all of the ingredients out of which both the monster and the legends are compounded have been preserved in Egypt, and in perhaps a more primitive and less altered form than elsewhere. Hence, if Egypt does not provide dragons for us to dissect, it does supply us with the evidence without which the dragon's evolution would be quite unintelligible.

Egyptian literature affords a clearer insight into the development of the Great Mother, the Water God, and the Warrior Sun God than we can obtain from any other writings of the origin of this fundamental stratum of deities. And in the three legends: The Destruction of Mankind, The Story of the Winged Disk, and The Conflict between Horus and Set, it has preserved the germs of the great Dragon Saga. Babylonian literature has shown us how this raw material was worked up into the definite and familiar story, as well as how the features of a variety of animals were blended to form the composite monster. India and Greece, as well as more distant parts of Africa, Europe, and Asia, and even America have preserved many details that have been lost in the real home of the monster.

In the earliest literature that has come down to us from antiquity a clear account is given of the original attributes of Osiris. "Horus comes, he recognizes his father in thee [Osiris], youthful in thy name of 'Fresh Water'." "Thou art indeed the Nile, great on the fields at the beginning of the seasons; gods and men live by the moisture that is

in thee." He is also identified with the inundation of the river. "It is Unis [the dead king identified with Osiris] who inundates the land." He also brings the wind and guides it. It is the breath of life which raises the king from the dead as an Osiris. The wine-press god comes to Osiris bearing wine-juice and the great god becomes "Lord of the overflowing wine": he is also identified with barley and with the beer made from it. Certain trees also are personifications of the god.

But Osiris was regarded not only as the waters upon earth, the rivers and streams, the moisture in the soil and in the bodies of animals and plants, but also as "the waters of life that are in the sky".

"As Osiris was identified with the waters of earth and sky, he may even become the sea and the ocean itself. We find him addressed thus: 'Thou art great, thou art green, in thy name of Great Green (Sea); lo, thou art round as the Great Circle (Okeanos); lo, thou art turned about, thou art round as the circle that encircles the Haunebu (Ægeans)."

This series of interesting extracts from Professor Breasted's "Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt" (pp. 18-26) gives the earliest Egyptians' own ideas of the attributes of Osiris. The Babylonians regarded Ea in almost precisely the same light and endowed him with identical powers. But there is an important and significant difference between Osiris and Ea. The former was usually represented as a man, that is, as a dead king, whereas Ea was represented as a man wearing a fish-skin, as a fish, or as the composite monster with a fish's body and tail, which was the prototype of the Indian *makara* and "the father of dragons".

In attempting to understand the creation of the dragon it is important to remember that, although Osiris and Ea were regarded primarily as personifications of the beneficent life-giving powers of water, as the bringers of fertility to the soil and the givers of life and immortality to living creatures, they were also identified with the destructive forces of water, by which men were drowned or their welfare affected in various ways by storms of sea and wind.

Thus Osiris or the fish-god Ea could destroy mankind. In other words the fish-dragon, or the composite monster formed of a fish and an antelope, could represent the destructive forces of wind and water. Thus even the malignant dragon can be the homologue of the usually

beneficent gods Osiris and Ea, and their Aryan surrogates Mazdah and Varuna.

By a somewhat analogous process of archaic rationalization the sons respectively of Osiris and Ea, the sun-gods Horus and Marduk, acquired a similarly confused reputation. Although their outstanding achievements were the overcoming of the powers of evil, and, as the givers of light, conquering darkness, their character as warriors made them also powers of destruction. The falcon of Horus thus became also a symbol of chaos, and as the thunder-bird became the most obtrusive feature in the weird anatomy of the composite Mesopotamian dragon and his more modern bird-footed brood, which ranges from Western Europe to the Far East of Asia and America.

That the sun-god derived his functions directly or indirectly from Osiris and Hathor is shown by his most primitive attributes, for in "the earliest sun-temples at Abusir, he appears as the source of life and increase". "Men said of him: 'Thou hast driven away the storm, and hast expelled the rain, and hast broken up the clouds'."¹ Horus was in fact the son of Osiris and Hathor, from whom he derived his attributes. The invention of the sun-god was not, as most scholars pretend, an attempt to give direct expression to the fact that the sun is the source of fertility. That is a discovery of modern science. The sun-god acquired his attributes secondarily (and for definite historical reasons) from his parents, who were responsible for his birth.

The quotation from the Pyramid Texts is of special interest as an illustration of one of the results of the assimilation of the idea of Osiris as the controller of water with that of a sky-heaven and a sun-god. The sun-god's powers are rationalized so as to bring them into conformity with the earliest conception of a god as a power controlling water.

Breasted attempts to interpret the statements concerning the storm and rain-clouds as references to the enemies of the sun, who steal the sky-god's eye, i.e., obscure the sun or moon. The incident of Horus's loss of an eye, which looms so large in Egyptian legends, is possibly more closely related to the earliest attempts at explaining eclipses of the sun and moon, the "eyes" of the sky. The obscuring of the sun and moon by clouds is a matter of little significance to the Egyptian: but the modern Egyptian *fellah*, and no doubt his predecessors also,

¹ Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

regard eclipses with much concern. Such events excite great alarm, for the peasants consider them as actual combats between the powers of good and evil.

In other countries where rain is a blessing and not, as in Egypt, merely an unwelcome inconvenience, the clouds play a much more prominent part in the popular beliefs. In the Rig-Veda the power that holds up the clouds is evil: as an elaboration of the ancient Egyptian conception of the sky as a Divine Cow, the Great Mother, the Aryan Indians regarded the clouds as a herd of cattle which the Vedic warrior-god Indra (who in this respect is the homologue of the Egyptian warrior Horus) stole from the powers of evil and bestowed upon mankind. In other words, like Horus, he broke up the clouds and brought rain.

The antithesis between the two aspects of the character of these ancient deities is most pronounced in the case of the other member of this most primitive Trinity, the Great Mother. She was the great beneficent giver of life, but also the controller of life, which implies that she was the death-dealer. But this evil aspect of her character developed only under the stress of a peculiar dilemma in which she was placed. On a famous occasion in the very remote past the great Giver of Life was summoned to rejuvenate the ageing king. The only elixir of life that was known to the pharmacopœia of the times was human blood: but to obtain this life-blood the Giver of Life was compelled to slaughter mankind. She thus became the destroyer of mankind in her lioness *avatar* as Sekhet.

The earliest known pictorial representation of the dragon (Fig. 1) consists of the forepart of the sun-god's falcon or eagle united with the hindpart of the mother-goddess's lioness. The student of modern heraldry would not regard this as a dragon at all, but merely a gryphon or griffin. A recent writer on heraldry has complained that, "in spite of frequent corrections, this creature is persistently confused in the popular mind with the *dragon*, which is even more purely imaginary".¹ But the investigator of the early history of these wonder-beasts is compelled, even at the risk of incurring the herald's censure, to regard the gryphon as one of the earliest known tentative efforts at dragon-making. But though the fish, the falcon or eagle, and the composite eagle-lion

¹ G. W. Eve, "Decorative Heraldry," 1897, p. 35.

monster are early known pictorial representations of the dragon, good or bad, the serpent is probably more ancient still (Fig. 2).

The earliest form assumed by the power of evil was the serpent : but it is important to remember that, as each of the primary deities can be a power of either good or evil, any of the animals representing them can symbolize either aspect. Though Hathor in her cow manifestation is usually benevolent and as a lioness a power of destruction, the cow may become a demon in certain cases and the lioness a kindly creature. The falcon of Horus (or its representatives, eagle, hawk, woodpecker, dove, redbreast, etc.) may be either good or bad : so also the gazelle (antelope or deer), the crocodile, the fish, or any of the menagerie of creatures that enter into the composition of good or bad demons.

"The Nāgas are semi-divine serpents which very often assume human shapes and whose kings live with their retinues in the utmost luxury in their magnificent abodes at the bottom of the sea or in rivers or lakes. When leaving the Nāga world they are in constant danger of being grasped and killed by the gigantic semi-divine birds, the Garudas, which also change themselves into men " (de Visser, p. 7).

"The Nāgas are depicted in three forms : common snakes, guarding jewels ; human beings with four snakes in their necks ; and winged sea-dragons, the upper part of the body human, but with a horned, ox-like head, the lower part of the body that of a coiling-dragon. Here we find a link between the snake of ancient India and the four-legged Chinese dragon " (p. 6), hidden in the clouds, which the dragon himself emitted, like a modern battleship, for the purpose of rendering himself invisible. In other words, the rain clouds were the dragon's breath. The fertilizing rain was thus in fact the vital essence of the dragon, being both water and the breath of life.

"We find the Nāga king not only in the possession of numberless jewels and beautiful girls, but also of mighty charms, bestowing supernatural vision and hearing. The palaces of the Nāga kings are always described as extremely splendid, abounding with gold and silver and precious stones, and the Nāga women, when appearing in human shape, were beautiful beyond description " (p. 9).

De Visser records the story of an evil Nāga protecting a big tree that grew in a pond, who failed to emit clouds and thunder when the tree was cut down, because he was neither despised nor wounded : for

his body became the support of the stūpa and the tree became a beam of the stūpa (p. 16). This aspect of the Nāga as a tree-demon is rare in India, but common in China and Japan. It seems to be identical with the Mediterranean conception of the pillar of wood or stone, which is both a representative of the Great Mother and the chief support of a temple.¹

In the magnificent city that king Yaçaḥketu saw, when he dived into the sea, "wishing trees that granted every desire" were among the objects that met his vision. There were also palaces of precious stones and gardens and tanks, and, of course, beautiful maidens (de Visser, p. 20).

In the Far Eastern stories it is interesting to note the antagonism of the dragon to the tiger, when we recall that the lioness-form of Hathor was the prototype of the earliest malevolent dragon.

There are five sorts of dragons : serpent-dragons ; lizard-dragons ; fish-dragons ; elephant-dragons ; and toad-dragons (de Visser, p. 23).

"According to de Groot, the blue colour is chosen in China because this is the colour of the East, from where the rain must come ; this quarter is represented by the Azure Dragon, the highest in rank among all the dragons. We have seen, however, that the original sūtra already prescribed to use the blue colour and to face the East. . . . Indra, the rain-god, is the patron of the East, and Indra-colour is *nila*, dark blue or rather blue-black, the regular epithet of the rain clouds. If the priest had not to face the East but the West, this would agree with the fact that the Nāgas were said to live in the western quarter and that in India the West corresponds with the blue colour. Facing the East, however, seems to point to an old rain ceremony in which Indra was invoked to raise the blue-black clouds" (de Visser, pp. 30 and 31).

THE DRAGON MYTH.

The most important and fundamental legend in the whole history of mythology is the story of the "Destruction of Mankind". "It was discovered, translated, and commented upon by Naville ("La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux," in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv., pp. 1-19, reproducing Hay's copies made at the beginning of [the nineteenth] century ; and

¹ Arthur J. Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," pp. 88 *et seq.*

"L'Inscription de la Destruction des hommes dans le tombeau de Ramsès III," in the *Transactions*, vol. viii., pp. 412-20); afterwards published anew by Herr von Bergmann (*Hieroglyphische Inscriften*, pls. lxxv.-lxxxii., and pp. 55, 56); completely translated by Brugsch (*Die neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechts nach einer Altägyptischen Ueberlieferung*, 1881); and partly translated by Lauth (*Aus Ägyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 70-81) and by Lefébure ("Une chapître de la chronique solaire," in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, pp. 32, 33)".¹

Important commentaries upon this story have been published also by Brugsch and Gauthier.²

As the really important features of the story consist of the incoherent and contradictory details, and it would take up too much space to reproduce the whole legend here, I must refer the reader to Maspero's account of it (*op. cit.*), or to the versions given by Erman in his "Life in Ancient Egypt" (p. 267, from which I quote) or Budge in "The Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 388.

Although the story as we know it was not written down until the time of Seti I (*circa* 1300 B.C.), it is very old and had been circulating as a popular legend for more than twenty centuries before that time. The narrative itself tells its own story because it is composed of many contradictory interpretations of the same incidents flung together in a highly confused and incoherent form.

The other legends to which I shall have constantly to refer are "The Saga of the Winged Disk," "The Feud between Horus and Set," "The Stealing of Re's Name by Isis," and a series of later variants and confusions of these stories.³

¹ G. Maspero, "The Dawn of Civilization," p. 164.

² H. Brugsch, "Die Alraune als altägyptische Zauberpflanze," *Zeit. f. Ägypt. Sprache*, Bd. 29, 1891, pp. 31-3; and Henri Gauthier, "Le nom hiéroglyphique de l'argile rouge d'Éléphantine," *Revue Égyptologique*, t. xie, Nos. i.-ii., 1904, p. 1.

³ These legends will be found in the works by Maspero, Erman and Budge, to which I have already referred. A very useful digest will be found in Donald A. Mackenzie's "Egyptian Myth and Legend". Mr. Mackenzie does not claim to have any first-hand knowledge of the subject, but his exceptionally wide and intimate knowledge of Scottish folk-lore, which has preserved a surprisingly large part of the same legends, has enabled him to present the Egyptian stories with exceptional clearness and

The Egyptian legends cannot be fully appreciated unless they are studied in conjunction with those of Babylonia and Assyria,¹ the mythology of Greece,² Persia,³ India,⁴ China,⁵ Indonesia,⁶ and America.⁷

For it will be found that essentially the same stream of legends was flowing in all these countries, and that the scribes and painters have caught and preserved certain definite phases of this verbal currency. The legends which have thus been preserved are not to be regarded as having been directly derived the one from the other but as collateral phases of a variety of waves of story spreading out from one centre. Thus the comparison of the whole range of homologous legends is peculiarly instructive and useful; because the gaps in the Egyptian series, for example, can be filled in by necessary phases which are missing in Egypt itself, but are preserved in Babylonia or Greece, Persia or India, China or Britain, or even Oceania and America.

The incidents in the Destruction of Mankind may be briefly summarized :—

As Re grows old “the men who were begotten of his eye”⁸ show signs of rebellion. Re calls a council of the gods and they advise him

sympathetic insight. But I refer to his book specially because he is one of the few modern writers who has made the attempt to compare the legends of Egypt, Babylonia, Crete, India and Western Europe. Hence the reader who is not familiar with the mythology of these countries will find his books particularly useful as works of reference in following the story I have to unfold: “Teutonic Myth and Legend,” “Egyptian Myth and Legend,” “Indian Myth and Legend,” “Myths of Babylonia and Assyria” and “Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe”.

¹ See Leonard W. King, “Babylonian Religion,” 1899.

² For a useful collection of data see A. B. Cook, “Zeus”.

³ Albert J. Carnoy, “Iranian Views of Origins in connexion with Similar Babylonian Beliefs,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvi., 1916, pp. 300-20; and “The Moral Deities of Iran and India and their Origins,” *The American Journal of Theology*, vol. xxi., No. i., January, 1917.

⁴ Hopkins, “Religions of India”.

⁵ De Groot, “The Religious System of China”.

⁶ Perry, “The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia,” Manchester, 1918.

⁷ H. Beuchat, “Manuel d' Archéologie Américaine,” Paris, 1912; T. A. Joyce, “Mexican Archæology,” and especially the memoir by Seler on the “Codex Vaticanus” and his articles in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and elsewhere.

⁸ I.e. the offspring of the Great Mother of gods and men, Hathor, the “Eye of Re”.

to "shoot forth his Eye¹ that it may slay the evil conspirators. . . . Let the goddess Hathor descend [from heaven] and slay the men on the mountains [to which they had fled in fear]." As the goddess complied she remarked: "it will be good for me when I subject mankind," and Re replied, "I shall subject them and slay them". Hence the goddess received the additional name of *Sekhmet* from the word "to subject". The destructive *Sekhmet*² *avatar* of Hathor is represented as a fierce lion-headed goddess of war wading in blood. For the goddess set to work slaughtering mankind and the land was flooded with blood.³ Re became alarmed and determined to save at least some remnant of mankind. For this purpose he sent messengers to Elephantine to obtain a substance called *d'd'* in the Egyptian text, which he gave to the god Sektet of Heliopolis to grind up in a mortar. When the slaves had crushed barley to make beer the powdered *d'd'* was mixed with it so as to make it red like human blood. Enough of this blood-coloured beer was made to fill 7000 jars. At nighttime this was poured out upon the fields, so that when the goddess came to resume her task of destruction in the morning she found the fields inundated and her face was mirrored in the fluid. She drank of the fluid and became intoxicated so that she no longer recognized mankind.⁴

Thus Re saved a remnant of mankind from the bloodthirsty, terrible Hathor. But the god was weary of life on earth and withdrew to heaven upon the back of the Divine Cow.

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this legend, highly confused as it is. The king who was responsible for introducing irriga-

¹ That is, Hathor, who as the moon is the "Eye of Re".

² Elsewhere in these pages I have used the more generally adopted spelling "*Sekhmet*".

³ Mr. F. Ll. Griffith tells me that the translation "flooding the land" is erroneous and misleading. Comparison of the whole series of stories, however, suggests that the amount of blood shed rapidly increased in the development of the narrative: at first the blood of a single victim; then the blood of mankind; then 7000 jars of a substitute for blood; then the red inundation of the Nile.

⁴ This version I have quoted mainly from Erman, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-9, but with certain alterations which I shall mention later. In another version of the legend wine replaces the beer and is made out of "the blood of those who formerly fought against the gods," *cf.* Plutarch, *De Iside* (ed. Parthey) 6.

tion came to be himself identified with the life-giving power of water. He was the river : his own vitality was the source of all fertility and prosperity. Hence when he showed signs that his vital powers were failing it became a logical necessity that he should be killed to safeguard the welfare of his country and people.¹

The time came when a king, rich in power and the enjoyment of life, refused to comply with this custom. When he realized that his virility was failing he consulted the Great Mother, as the source and giver of life, to obtain an elixir which would rejuvenate him and obviate the necessity of being killed. The only medicine in the pharmacopœia of those times that was believed to be useful in minimizing danger to life was human blood. Wounds that gave rise to severe hæmorrhage were known to produce unconsciousness and death. If the escape of

¹ It is still the custom in many places, and among them especially the regions near the headwaters of the Nile itself, to regard the king or rain-maker as the impersonation of the life-giving properties of water and the source of all fertility. When his own vitality shows signs of failing he is killed, so as not to endanger the fruitfulness of the community by allowing one who is weak in life-giving powers to control its destinies. Much of the evidence relating to these matters has been collected by Sir James Frazer in "The Dying God," 1911, who quotes from Dr. Seligman the following account of the Dinka "Osiris" :

"While the mighty spirit Lerpiu is supposed to be embodied in the rain-maker, it is also thought to inhabit a certain hut which serves as a shrine. In front of the hut stands a post to which are fastened the horns of many bullocks that have been sacrificed to Lerpiu; and in the hut is kept a very sacred spear which bears the name of Lerpiu and is said to have fallen from heaven six generations ago. As fallen stars are also called Lerpiu, we may suspect that an intimate connexion is supposed to exist between meteorites and the spirit which animates the rain-maker" (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 32). Here then we have a house of the dead inhabited by Lerpiu, who can also enter the body of the rain-maker and animate him, as well as the ancient spear and the falling stars, which are also animate forms of the same god, who obviously is the homologue of Osiris, and is identified with the spear and the falling stars.

In spring when the April moon is a few days old bullocks are sacrificed to Lerpiu. "Two bullocks are led twice round the shrine and afterwards tied by the rain-maker to the post in front of it. Then the drums beat and the people, old and young, men and women, dance round the shrine and sing, while the beasts are being sacrificed, 'Lerpiu, our ancestor, we have brought you a sacrifice. Be pleased to cause rain to fall.' The blood of the bullocks is collected in a gourd, boiled in a pot on the fire, and eaten by the old and important people of the clan. The horns of the animals are attached to the post in front of the shrine" (pp. 32 and 33).

the blood of life could produce these results it was not altogether illogical to assume that the exhibition of human blood could also add to the vitality of living men and so "turn back the years from their old age," as the Pyramid Texts express it.

Thus the Great Mother, the giver of life to all mankind, was faced with the dilemma that, to provide the king with the elixir to restore his youth, she had to slay mankind, to take the life she herself had given to her own children. Thus she acquired an evil reputation which was to stick to her throughout her career. She was not only the beneficent creator of all things and the bestower of all blessings: but she was also a demon of destruction who did not hesitate to slaughter even her own children.

In course of time the practice of human sacrifice was abandoned and substitutes were adopted in place of the blood of mankind. Either the blood of cattle,¹ who by means of appropriate ceremonies could be transformed into human beings (for the Great Mother herself was the Divine Cow and her offspring cattle), was employed in its stead; or red ochre was used to colour a liquid which was used ritually to replace the blood of sacrifice. When this phase of culture was reached the goddess provided for the king an elixir of life consisting of beer stained red by means of red ochre, so as to simulate human blood.

But such a mixture was doubly potent, for the barley from which the beer was made and the drink itself was supposed to be imbued with the life-giving powers of Osiris, and the blood-colour reinforced its therapeutic usefulness. The legend now begins to become involved and confused. For the goddess is making the rejuvenator for the king, who in the meantime has died and become deified as Osiris; and the beer, which is the vehicle of the life-giving powers of Osiris, is now being used to rejuvenate his son and successor, the living king Horus, who in the version that has come down to us is replaced by the sun-god Re.

¹ In Northern Nigeria an official who bore the title of Killer of the Elephant throttled the king "as soon as he showed signs of failing health or growing infirmity". The king-elect was afterwards conducted to the centre of the town, called Head of the Elephant, where he was made to lie down on a bed. Then a black ox was slaughtered and its blood allowed to pour all over his body. Next the ox was flayed, and the remains of the dead king, which had been disembowelled and smoked for seven days over a slow fire, were wrapped up in the hide and dragged along to the place of burial, where they were interred in a circular pit" (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

It is Re who is king and is growing old : he asks Hathor, the Great Mother, to provide him with the elixir of life. But comparison with some of the legends of other countries suggests that Re has usurped the place previously occupied by Horus and originally by Osiris, who as the real personification of the life-giving power of water is obviously the appropriate person to be slain when his virility begins to fail. Dr. C. G. Seligman's account of the Dinka rain-maker Lerpiu, which I have already quoted (p. 113) from Sir James Frazer's "Dying God," suggests that the slain king or god was originally Osiris.

The introduction of Re into the story marks the beginning of the belief in the sky-world or heaven. Hathor was originally nothing more than an amulet to enhance fertility and vitality. Then she was personified as a woman and identified with a cow. But when the view developed that the moon controlled the powers of life-giving in women and exercised a direct influence upon their life-blood, the Great Mother was identified with the moon. But how was such a conception to be brought into harmony with the view that she was also a cow ? The human mind displays an irresistible tendency to unify its experience and to bridge the gaps that necessarily exist in its broken series of scraps of knowledge and ideas. No break is too great to be bridged by this instinctive impulse to rationalize the products of diverse experience. Hence, early man, having identified the Great Mother both with a cow and the moon, had no compunction in making "the cow jump over the moon" to become the sky. The moon then became the "Eye" of the sky and the sun necessarily became its other "Eye". But, as the sun was clearly the more important "Eye," seeing that it determined the day and gave warmth and light for man's daily work, it was the more-important deity. Therefore Re, at first the Brother-Eye of Hathor, and afterwards her husband, became the supreme sky-deity, and Hathor merely one of his Eyes.

When this stage of theological evolution was reached, the story of the "Destruction of Mankind" was re-edited, and Hathor was called the "Eye of Re". In the earlier versions she was called into consultation solely as the giver of life and, to obtain the life-blood, she cut men's throats with a knife.

But as the Eye of Re she was identified with the fire-spitting uræus-serpent which the king or god wore on his forehead. She was both the moon and the fiery bolt which shot down from the sky to slay

the enemies of Re. For the men who were originally slaughtered to provide the blood for an elixir now became the enemies of Re. The reason for this was that, human sacrifice having been abandoned and substitutes provided to replace the human blood, the story-teller was at a loss to know why the goddess killed mankind. A reason had to be found—and the rationalization adopted was that men had rebelled against the gods and had to be killed. This interpretation was probably the result of a confusion with the old legend of the fight between Horus and Set, the rulers of the two kingdoms of Egypt. The possibility also suggests itself that a pun made by some priestly jester may have been the real factor that led to this mingling of two originally separate stories. In the "Destruction of Mankind" the story runs, according to Budge,¹ that Re, referring to his enemies, said: *mā-ten set uār er set*, "Behold ye them (*set*) fleeing into the mountain (*set*)". The enemies were thus identified with the mountain or stone and with Set, the enemy of the gods.²

In Egyptian hieroglyphics the symbol for stone is used as the determinative for Set. When the "Eye of Re" destroyed mankind and the rebels were thus identified with the followers of Set, they were regarded as creatures of "stone". In other words the Medusa-eye petrified the enemies. From this feeble pun on the part of some ancient Egyptian scribe has arisen the world-wide stories of the influence of the "Evil Eye" and the petrification of the enemies of the gods.³ As the name for Isis in Egyptian is "*Set*," it is possible that the confusion of the Power of Evil with the Great Mother may also have been facilitated by an extension of the same pun.

It is important to recognize that the legend of Hathor descending from the moon or the sky in the form of destroying fire had nothing whatever to do, in the first instance, with the phenomena of lightning

¹ "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 392.

² The eye of the sun-god, which was subsequently called the eye of Horus and identified with the Uræus-snake on the forehead of Re and of the Pharaohs, the earthly representatives of Re, finally becoming synonymous with the crown of Lower Egypt, was a mighty goddess, Uto or Buto by name" (Alan Gardiner, Article "Magic (Egyptian)" in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 268, quoting Sethe.

³For an account of the distribution of this story see E. Sidney Hartland, "The Legend of Perseus"; also W. J. Perry, "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia".

and meteorites. It was the result of verbal quibbling after the destructive goddess came to be identified with the moon, the sky and the "Eye of Re". But once the evolution of the story on these lines prepared the way, it was inevitable that in later times the powers of destruction exerted by the fire from the sky should have been identified with the lightning and meteorites.

When the destructive force of the heavens was attributed to the "Eye of Re" and the god's enemies were identified with the followers of Set, it was natural that the traditional enemy of Set who was also the more potent other "Eye of Re" should assume his mother's rôle of punishing rebellious mankind. That Horus did in fact take the place at first occupied by Hathor in the story is revealed by the series of trivial episodes from the "Destruction of Mankind" that reappear in the "Saga of the Winged Disk". The king of Lower Egypt (Horus) was identified with a falcon, as Hathor was with the vulture (Mut): like her, he entered the sun-god's boat¹ and sailed up the river with him: he then mounted up to heaven as a winged disk, i.e. the sun of Re equipped with his own falcon's wings. The destructive force displayed by Hathor as the Eye of Re was symbolized by her identification with Tefnut, the fire-spitting uræus-snake. When Horus assumed the form of the winged disk he added to his insignia two fire-spitting serpents to destroy Re's enemies. The winged disk was at once the instrument of destruction and the god himself. It swooped (or flew) down from heaven like a bolt of destroying fire and killed the enemies of Re. By a confusion with Horus's other fight against the

¹ The original "boat of the sky" was the crescent moon, which, from its likeness to the earliest form of Nile boat, was regarded as the vessel in which the moon (seen as a faint object upon the crescent), or the goddess who was supposed to be personified in the moon, travelled across the waters of the heavens. But as this "boat" was obviously part of the moon itself, it also was regarded as an animate form of the goddess, the "Eye of Re". When the Sun, as the other "Eye," assumed the chief rôle, Re was supposed to traverse the heavens in his own "boat," which was also brought into relationship with the actual boat used in the Osirian burial ritual.

The custom of employing the name "dragon" in reference to a boat is found in places as far apart as Scandinavia and China. It is the direct outcome of these identifications of the sun and moon with a boat animated by the respective deities. In India the *Makara*, the prototype of the dragon, was sometimes represented as a boat which was looked upon as the fish-*avatar* of Vishnu, Buddha or some other deity.

followers of Set, the enemies of Re become identified with Set's army and they are transformed into crocodiles, hippopotami and all the other kinds of creatures whose shapes the enemies of Osiris assume.

In the course of the development of these legends a multitude of other factors played a part and gave rise to transformations of the meaning of the incidents.

The goddess originally slaughtered mankind, or perhaps it would be truer to say, made *a* human sacrifice, to obtain blood to rejuvenate the king. But, as we have seen already, when the sacrifice was no longer a necessary part of the programme, the incident of the slaughter was not dropped out of the story, but a new explanation of it was framed. Instead of simply making a human sacrifice, mankind as a whole was destroyed for rebelling against the gods, the act of rebellion being murmuring about the king's old age and loss of virility. The elixir soon became something more than a rejuvenator: it was transformed into the food of the gods, the ambrosia that gave them their immortality, and distinguished them from mere mortals. Now when the development of the story led to the replacement of the single victim by the whole of mankind, the blood produced by the wholesale slaughter was so abundant that the fields were flooded by the life-giving elixir. By the sacrifice of men the soil was renewed and refertilized. When the blood-coloured beer was substituted for the actual blood the conception was brought into still closer harmony with Egyptian ideas, because the beer was animated with the life-giving powers of Osiris. But Osiris was the Nile. The blood-coloured fertilizing fluid was then identified with the annual inundation of the red-coloured waters of the Nile. Now the Nile waters were supposed to come from the First Cataract at Elephantine. Hence by a familiar psychological process the previous phase of the legend was recast, and by confusion the red ochre (which was used to colour the beer red) was said to have come from Elephantine.¹

¹ This is an instance of the well-known tendency of the human mind to blend numbers of different incidents into one story. An episode of one experience, having been transferred to an earlier one, becomes rationalized in adaptation to its different environment. This process of psychological transference is the explanation of the reference to Elephantine as the source of the *d'd'*, and has no relation to actuality. The naïve efforts of Brugsch and Gauthier to study the natural products of Elephantine for the purpose of identifying *d'd'* were therefore wholly misplaced.

Thus we have arrived at the stage where, by a distortion of a series of phases, the new incident emerges that by means of a human sacrifice the Nile flood can be produced. By a further confusion the goddess, who originally did the slaughter, becomes the victim. Hence the story assumed the form that by means of the sacrifice of a beautiful and attractive maiden the annual inundation can be produced. As the most potent symbol of life-giving it is essential that the victim should be sexually attractive, i.e. that she should be a virgin and the most beautiful and desirable in the land. When the practice of human sacrifice was abandoned a figure or an animal was substituted for the maiden in ritual practice, and in legends the hero rescued the maiden, as Andromeda was saved from the dragon.¹ The dragon is the personification of the monsters that dwell in the waters as well as the destructive forces of the flood itself. But the monsters were no other than the followers of Set; they were the victims of the slaughter who became identified with the god's other traditional enemies, the followers of Set. Thus the monster from whom Andromeda is rescued is merely another representative of herself!

But the destructive forces of the flood now enter into the programme. In the phases we have so far discussed it was the slaughter of mankind which caused the inundation: but in the next phase it is the flood itself which causes the destruction, as in the later Egyptian and the borrowed Sumerian, Babylonian, Hebrew—and in fact the world-wide—versions. Re's boat becomes the ark; the winged disk which was despatched by Re from the boat becomes the dove and the other birds sent out to spy the land, as the winged Horus spied the enemies of Re.

Thus the new weapon of the gods—we have already noted Hathor's knife and Horus's winged disk, which is the fire from heaven, the lightning and the thunderbolt—is the flood. Like the others it can be either a beneficent giver of life or a force of destruction.

But the flood also becomes a weapon of another kind. One of the earlier incidents of the story represents Hathor in opposition to Re. The goddess becomes so maddened with the zest of killing that the god becomes alarmed and asks her to desist and spare some representatives of the race. But she is deaf to entreaties. Hence the god is

¹ In Hartland's "Legend of Perseus" a collection of variants of this story will be found.

said to have sent to Elephantine for the red ochre to make a sedative draught to overcome her destructive zeal. We have already seen that this incident had an entirely different meaning—it was merely intended to explain the obtaining of the colouring matter wherewith to redden the sacred beer so as to make it resemble blood as an elixir for the god. It was brought from Elephantine, because the red waters of inundation of the Nile were supposed by the Egyptians to come from Elephantine.

But according to the story inscribed in Seti I's tomb, the red ochre was an essential ingredient of the sedative mixture (prepared under the direction of Re by the Sekti¹ of Heliopolis) to calm Hathor's murderous spirit.

It has been claimed that the story simply means that the goddess became intoxicated with beer and that she became genially inoffensive solely as the effect of such inebriation. But the incident in the Egyptian story closely resembles the legends of other countries in which some herb is used specifically as a sedative. In most books on Egyptian mythology the word (*d'd'*) for the substance put into the drink to colour it is translated "mandragora," from its resemblance to the Hebrew word *dudaim* in the Old Testament, which is often translated "mandrakes" or "love-apples". But Gauthier has clearly demonstrated that the Egyptian word does not refer to a vegetable but to a mineral substance, which he translates "red clay"². Mr. F. Ll. Griffith tells me, however, that it is "red ochre". In any case, mandrake is not found at Elephantine (which, however, for the reasons I have already given, is a point of no importance so far as the identification of the substance is concerned), nor in fact anywhere in Egypt.

But if some foreign story of the action of a sedative drug had become blended with and incorporated in the highly complex and composite Egyptian legend the narrative would be more intelligible. The mandrake is such a sedative as might have been employed to calm the murderous frenzy of a maniacal woman. In fact it is closely allied to hyoscyamus, whose active principle, hyoscin, is used in modern medicine precisely for such purposes. I venture to suggest that a folk-tale describing the effect of opium or some other "drowsy syrup" has been absorbed into the legend of the Destruction of Mankind, and has provided the starting point of all those incidents in the dragon-story in which poison or some

¹ In the version I have quoted from Erman he refers to "the god Sektet".

² *Op. cit.*, *supra*.

sleep-producing drug plays a part. For when Hathor defies Re and continues the destruction, she is playing the part of her Babylonian representative Tiamat, and is a dragon who has to be vanquished by the drink which the god provides.

The red earth which was pounded in the mortar to make the elixir of life and the fertilizer of the soil also came to be regarded as the material out of which the new race of men was made to replace those who were destroyed.

The god fashioned mankind of this earth and, instead of the red ochre being merely the material to give the blood-colour to the draught of immortality, the story became confused : actual blood was presented to the clay images to give them life and consciousness.

In a later elaboration the remains of the former race of mankind were ground up to provide the material out of which their successors were created. This version is a favourite story in Northern Europe, and has obviously been influenced by an intermediate variant which finds expression in the Indian legend of the Churning of the Ocean of Milk. Instead of the material for the elixir of the gods being pounded by the Sekti of Heliopolis and incidentally becoming a sedative for Hathor, it is the milk of the Divine Cow herself which is churned to provide the *amrita*.

THE THUNDER-WEAPON.¹

In the development of the dragon-story we have seen that the instruments of destruction were of a most varied kind. Each of the three primary deities, Hathor, Osiris and Horus can be a destructive power as well as a giver of life and of all kinds of boons. Every homologue or surrogate of these three deities can become a weapon for dragon-destroying, such as the moon or the lotus of Hathor, the water

¹ The history of the thunder-weapon cannot wholly be ignored in discussing the dragon-myth because it forms an integral part of the story. It was animated both by the dragon and the dragon-slayer. But an adequate account of the weapon would be so highly involved and complex as to be unintelligible without a very large series of illustrations. Hence I am referring here only to certain aspects of the subject. Pending the preparation of a monograph upon the thunder-weapon, I may refer the reader to the works of Blinkenberg, d'Alviella, Ward, Evans and A. B. Cook (to which frequent reference is made in these pages) for material, especially in the form of illustrations, to supplement my brief and unavoidably involved summary.

or the beer of Osiris, the sun or the falcon of Horus. Originally Hathor used a flint knife or axe : then she did the execution as "the Eye of Re," the moon, the fiery bolt from heaven : Osiris sent the destroying flood and the intoxicating beer, each of which, like the knife, axe and moon of Hathor, were animated by the deity. Then Horus came as the winged disk, the falcon, the sun, the lightning and the thunderbolt. As the dragon-story was spread abroad in the world any one of these "weapons" was confused with any of (or all) the rest. The Eye of Re was the fire-spitting uræus-serpent ; and foreign people, like the Greeks, Indians and others, gave the Egyptian verbal simile literal expression and converted it into an actual Cyclopean eye planted in the forehead, which shot out the destroying fire.

The warrior god of Babylonia is called the bright one,¹ the sword or lightning of Ishtar, who was herself called both the sword or lightning of heaven.

In the Ægean area also the sons of Zeus and the progeny of heaven may be axes, stone implements, meteoric stones and thunderbolts. In a Swahili tale the hero's weapon is "a sword like a flash of lightning".

According to Bergaigne,² the myth of the celestial drink *soma*, brought down from heaven by a bird ordinarily called *cyena*, "eagle," is parallel to that of Agni, the celestial fire brought by Mâtariçvan. This parallelism is even expressly stated in the Rig Veda, verse 6 of hymn 1 to Agni and Soma. Mâtariçvan brought the one from heaven, the eagle brought the other from the celestial mountain.

Kuhn admits that the eagle represents Indra ; and Lehmann regards the eagle who takes the fire as Agni himself. It is patent that both Indra and Agni are in fact merely specialized forms of Horus of the Winged Disk Saga, in one of which the warrior sun-god is represented, in the other the living fire. The elixir of life of the Egyptian story is represented by the *soma*, which by confusion is associated with the eagle : in other words, the god Soma is the homologue not only of Osiris, but also of Horus.

Other incidents in the same original version are confused in the Greek story of Prometheus. He stole the fire from heaven and brought

¹ As in Egypt Osiris is described as "a ray of light" which issued from the moon (Hathor), *i.e.* was born of the Great Mother.

² "Religion védique," i., p. 173, quoted by S. Reinach, "Ætos Prometheus," *Revue archéologique*, 4^{ie} série, tome x., 1917, p. 72.

it to earth : but, in place of the episode of the elixir, which is adopted in the Indian story just mentioned, the creation of men from clay is accredited by the Greeks to the "flaming one," the "fire eagle" Prometheus.

The double axe was the homologue of the winged disk which fell, or rather flew, from heaven as the tangible form of the god. This fire from heaven inevitably came to be identified with the lightning. According to Blinkenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 19) "many points go to prove that the double-axe is a representation of the lightning (see Usener, p. 20)". He refers to the design on the famous gold ring from Mycenæ where "the sun, the moon, a double curved line presumably representing the rainbow, and the double-axe, i.e. the lightning": but "the latter is placed lower than the others, probably because it descends from heaven to earth," like Horus when he assumed the form of the winged disk and flew down to earth as a fiery bolt to destroy the enemies of Re.

The recognition of the homology of the winged disk with the double axe solves a host of problems which have puzzled classical scholars within recent years. The form of the double axe on the Mycenæan ring¹ and the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada in Crete (and especially the oblique markings upon the axe) is probably a suggestion of the double series of feathers and the outlines of the individual feathers respectively on the wings. The position of the axe upon a symbolic tree is not intended, as Blinkenberg claims (*op. cit.*, p. 21), as "a ritual representation of the trees struck by lightning": but is the familiar scene of the Mesopotamian culture-area, the tree of life surmounted by the winged disk.²

The bird poised upon the axe in the Cretan picture is the homologue of the falcon of Horus : it is in fact a second representation of the winged disk itself. This interpretation is not affected by the consideration that the falcon may be replaced by the eagle, pigeon, woodpecker or raven, for these substitutions were repeatedly made by the ancient priesthoods in flagrant defiance of the proprieties of ornithological homologies. The same phenomenon is displayed even more obtrusively in Central America and Mexico, where the ancient sculptors

¹ Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4, p. 10.

² William Hayes Ward, "The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia," chapter xxxviii.

and painters represented the bird perched upon the tree of life as a falcon, an eagle, a vulture, a macaw or even a turkey.¹

The incident of the winged disk descending to effect the sun-god's purposes upon earth probably represents the earliest record of the recognition of thunder and lightning and the phenomena of rain as manifestations of the god's powers. All gods of thunder, lightning, rain and clouds derive their attributes, and the arbitrary graphic representation of them, from the legend which the Egyptian scribe has preserved for us in the Saga of the Winged Disk.

The sacred axe of Crete is represented elsewhere as a sword which became the visible impersonation of the deity.² There is a Hittite story of a sword-handle coming to life. Hose and McDougall refer to the same incident in certain Sarawak legends; and the story is true to the original in the fact that the sword fell from the sun.³

Sir Arthur Evans describes as "the aniconic image of the god" a stone pillar on which crude pictures of a double axe have been scratched. These representations of the axe in fact serve the same purpose as the winged disk in Egypt, and, as we shall see subsequently, there was an actual confusion between the Egyptian symbol and the Cretan axe.

The obelisk at Abusir was the aniconic representative of the sun-god Re, or rather, the support of the pyramidal apex, the gilded surface of which reflected the sun's rays and so made manifest the god's presence in the stone.

The Hittites seem to have substituted the winged disk as a representation of the sun: for in a design copied from a seal⁴ we find the Egyptian symbol borne upon the apex of a cone.

The transition from this to the great double axe from Hagia Triada in the Candia Museum⁵ is a relatively easy one, which was materially helped, as we shall see, by the fact that the winged disk was actually homologized with an axe or knife as alternative weapons used by the sun-god for the destruction of mankind.

In Dr. Seligman's account of the Dinka rain-maker (*supra*, p. 354)

¹ Seler, "Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773," vol. i., p. 77 *et seq.*

² Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³ "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," 1912, vol. ii., p. 137.

⁴ Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 8, c, p. 17.

⁵ There is an excellent photograph of this in Donald McKenzie's "Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe," facing p. 160.

we have already seen that the Soudanese Osiris was identified with a spear and falling stars.

According to Dr. Budge¹ the Egyptian hieroglyph used as the determinative of the word *neter*, meaning god or spirit, is the axe with a handle. Mr. Griffith, however, interprets it as a roll of yellow cloth ("Hieroglyphics," p. 46). On Hittite seals the axe sometimes takes the place of the god Teshub.²

Sir Arthur Evans endeavours to explain these conceptions by a vague appeal to certain natural phenomena (*op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 21); but the identical traditions of widespread peoples are much too arbitrary and specific to be interpreted by any such speculations.

Sanchoniathon's story of Baetylos being the son of Ouranos is merely a poetical way of saying that the sun-god fell to earth in the form of a stone or a weapon, as a Zeus Kappôtas or a Horus in the form of a winged disk, flying down from heaven to destroy the enemies of Re.

"The idea of their [the weapons] flying through the air or falling from heaven, and their supposed power of burning with inner fire or shining in the nighttime," was not primarily suggested, as Sir Arthur Evans claims (*op. cit.*, p. 21), "by the phenomena associated with meteoric stones," but was a rationalization of the events described in the early Egyptian and Babylonian stories.

They "shine at night" because the original weapon of destruction was the moon as the Eye of Re. They "burn with inward fire," like the Babylonian Marduk, when in the fight with the dragon Tiamat "he filled his body with burning flame" (King, *op. cit.*, p. 71), because they *were* fire, the fire of the sun and of lightning, the fire spat out by the Eye of Re.

Further evidence in corroboration of these views is provided by the fact that in the Ægean area the double-axe replaces the moon between the cow's horns (Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3, p. 9).

In King's "Babylonian Religion" (pp. 70 and 71) we are told how the gods provided Marduk with an invincible weapon in preparation for the combat with the dragon: and the ancient scribe himself sets forth a series of its homologues:—

¹ "The Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., pp. 63 *et seq.*

² See, for example, Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

He made ready his bow . . .
 He slung a spear . . .
 The bow and quiver . . .
 He set the lightning in front of him,
 With burning flame he filled his body.

An ancient Egyptian writer has put on record further identifications of weapons. In the 95th Chapter of the Book of the Dead, the deceased is reported to have said: "I am he who sendeth forth terror into the powers of rain and thunder. . . . I have made to flourish my knife which is in the hand of Thoth in the powers of rain and thunder" (Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 414).

The identification of the winged disk with the thunderbolt which emerges so definitely from these homologies is not altogether new, for it was suggested some years ago by Count d'Alviella¹ in these words:—

"On seeing some representations of the Thunderbolt which recall in a remarkable manner the outlines of the Winged Globe, it may be asked if it was not owing to this latter symbol that the Greeks transformed into a winged spindle the Double Trident derived from Assyria. At any rate the transition, or, if it be preferred, the combination of the two symbols is met with in those coins from Northern Africa where Greek art was most deeply impregnated with Phœnician types. Thus on coins of Bocchus II, King of Mauretania, figures are found which M. Lajard connected with the Winged Globe, and M. L. Müller calls Thunderbolts, but which are really the result of crossing between these two emblems".

The thunderbolt, however, is not always, or even commonly, the direct representative of the winged disk. It is more often derived from lightning or some floral design.²

According to Count d'Alviella³ "the Trident of Siva at times exhibits the form of a lotus calyx depicted in the Egyptian manner".

"Perhaps other transformations of the *trisula* might still be found at Boro-Budur [in Java]. . . . The same Disk which, when transformed into a most complicated ornament, is sometimes crowned by a Trident, is also met with between two serpents—which brings us back to the origin of the Winged Circle—the Globe of Egypt with the

¹ "The Migration of Symbols," pp. 220 and 221.

² Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

uræi" (see d'Alviella's Fig. 158). "Moreover this ornament, between which and certain forms of the *trisula* the transition is easily traced, commonly surmounts the entrance to the pagodas depicted in the bas-reliefs—in exactly the same manner as the Winged Globe adorns the lintel of the temples in Egypt and Phœnicia."

Thus we find traces of a blending of the two homologous designs, derived independently from the lotus and the winged disk, which acquired the same symbolic significance.

The weapon of Poseidon, the so-called "Trident of Neptune," is "sometimes crowned with a trilobate lotus flower, or with three lotus buds; in other cases it is depicted in a shape that may well represent a fishing spear" (Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 54).

"Even if Jacobsthal's interpretation of the flower as a common Greek symbol for fire be not accepted, the conventionalization of the trident as a lotus blossom is quite analogous to the change, on Greek soil, of the Assyrian thunderweapon to two flowers pointing in opposite directions" (p. 54).

But the conception of a flower as a symbol of fire cannot thus summarily be dismissed. For Sir Arthur Evans has collected all the stages in the transformation of Egyptian palmette pillars into the rayed pillars of Cyprus, in which the leaflets of the palmette become converted (in the Cypro-Mycenæan derivatives) into the rays which he calls "the natural concomitant of divinities of light".¹

The underlying motive which makes such a transference easy is the Egyptian conception of Hathor as a sacred lotus from which the sun-god Horus is born. The god of light is identified with the water-plant, whether lotus, iris or lily; and the lotus form of Horus can be correlated with its Hellenic surrogate, Apollo Hyakinthos. "The fleur-de-lys type now takes its place beside the sacred lotus" (*op. cit.*, p. 50). The trident and the fleur-de-lys are thunderweapons because they represent forms of Horus or his mother.

The classical keraunos is still preserved in Tibet as the *dorje*, which is identified with Indra's thunderbolt, the *vajra*.² This word is also applied to the diamond, the "king of stones," which in turn acquired many of the attributes of the pearl, another of the Great

¹ "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," pp. 51 and 52.

² See Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-8.

Mother's surrogates, which is reputed to have fallen from heaven like the thunderbolt.¹

The Tibetan *dorje*, like its Greek original, is obviously a conventionalized flower, the leaf-design about the base of the corona being quite clearly defined.

The influence of the Winged-Disk Saga is clearly revealed in such Greek myths as that relating to Ixion. "Euripides is represented by Aristophanes as declaring that *Aithér* at the creation devised

The eye to mimic the wheel of the sun."²

When we read of Zeus in anger binding Ixion to a winged wheel made of fire, and sending him spinning through the air, we are merely dealing with a Greek variant of the Egyptian myth in which Re despatched Horus as a winged disk to slay his enemies. In the Hellenic version the sky-god is angry with the father of the centaurs for his ill-treatment of his father-in-law and his behaviour towards Hera and her cloud-manifestation: but though distorted all the incidents reveal their original inspiration in the Egyptian story and its early Aryan variants.

It is remarkable that Mr. A. B. Cook, who compared the wheel of Ixion with the Egyptian winged disk (pp. 205-10), did not look deeper for a common origin of the two myths, especially when he got so far as to identify Ixion with the sun-god (p. 211).

Blinkenberg sums up the development of the thunder-weapon thus: "From the old Babylonian representation of the lightning, i.e. two or three zigzag lines representing flames, a tripartite thunder-weapon was evolved and carried east and west from the ancient seat of civilization.

¹ I must defer consideration of the part played by certain of the Great Mother's surrogates in the development of the thunder-weapon's symbolism and the associated folk-lore. I have in mind especially the influence of the octopus and the cow. The former was responsible in part for the use of the spiral as a thunder-symbol; and the latter for the beliefs in the special protective power of thunderstones over cows (see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*). The thunderstone was placed over the lintel of the cow-shed for the same purpose as the winged disk over the door of an Egyptian temple. Until the relations of the octopus to the dragon have been set forth it is impossible adequately to discuss the question of the seven-headed dragon, which ranges from Scotland to Japan and from Scandinavia to the Zambesi. In "The Birth of Aphrodite" I shall call attention to the basal factors in its evolution.

² A. B. Cook, "Zeus," vol. i., p. 198.

Together with the axe (in Western Asia Minor the double-edged, and towards the centre of Asia the single-edged, axe) it became a regular attribute of the Asiatic thunder-gods. . . . The Indian trisula and the Greek triaina are both its descendants" (p. 57).

Discussing the relationship of the sun-god to thunder, Dr. Rendel Harris refers to the fact that Apollo's "arrows are said to be lightnings," and he quotes Pausanias, Apollodorus and Mr. A. B. Cook in substantiation of his statements.¹ Both sons of Zeus, Dionysus and Apollo, are "concerned with the production of fire".

According to Hyginus, Typhon was the son of Tartarus and the Earth: he made war against Jupiter for dominion, and, being struck by lightning, was thrown flaming to the earth, where Mount Ætna was placed upon him.²

In this curious variant of the story of the winged disk, the conflict of Horus with Set is merged with the Destruction, for the son of Tartarus [Osiris] and the Earth [Isis] here is not Horus but his hostile brother Set. Instead of fighting for Jupiter (Re) as Horus did, he is against him. The lightning (which is Horus in the form of the winged disk) strikes Typhon and throws him flaming to earth. The episode of Mount Ætna is the antithesis of the incident in the Indian legend of the churning of the ocean: Mount Meru is placed in the sea upon the tortoise *avatar* of Vishnu and is used to churn the food of immortality for the gods. In the Egyptian story the red ochre brought from Elephantine is pounded with the barley.

The story told by Hyginus leads up to the vision in Revelations (xii., 7 *et seq.*): "There was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

¹ "The Ascent of Olympus," p. 32.

² Tartarus ex Terra procreavit Typhonem, immani magnitudine, specieque portentosa, cui centum capita draconum ex humeris enata erant. Hic Jovem provocavit, si vellet secum de regno centare. Jovis fulmine ardenti pectus ejus percussit. Cui cum flagraret, montem Ætnam, qui est in Siciliâ, super eum imposuit; qui ex eo adhuc ardere dicitur" (Hyginus, fab. 152).

In the later variants the original significance of the Destruction of Mankind seems to have been lost sight of. The life-giving Great Mother tends to drop out of the story and her son Horus takes her place. He becomes the warrior-god, but he not only assumes his mother's rôle but he also adopts her tactics. Just as she attacked Re's enemies in the capacity of the sky-god's "Eye," so Horus as the other "Eye," the sun, to which he gave his own falcon's wings, attacked in the form of the winged disk. The winged disk, like the other "Eye of Re," was not merely the sky weapon which shot down to destroy mankind, but also was the god Horus himself. This early conception involved the belief that the thunderbolt and lightning represented not merely the fiery weapon but the actual god.

The winged disk thus exhibits the same confusion of attributes as we have already noticed in Osiris and Hathor. It is the commonest symbol of life-giving and beneficent protective power: yet it is the weapon used to slaughter mankind. It is in fact the healing caduceus as well as the baneful thunder-weapon.

THE DEER.

One of the most surprising features of the dragon in China, Japan and America, is the equipment of deer's horns.

In Babylonia both Ea and Marduk are intimately associated with the antelope or gazelle, and the combination of the head of the antelope (or in other cases the goat) with the body of a fish is the most characteristic manifestation of either god. In Egypt both Osiris and Horus are at times brought into relationship with the gazelle or antelope, but more often it represents their enemy Set. Hence, in some parts of Africa, especially in the west, the antelope plays the part of the dragon in Asiatic stories.¹ The cow² of Hathor (Tiamat) may represent the dragon also. In East Africa the antelope assumes the rôle of the hero,³ and is the representative of Horus. In the Ægean area, Asia Minor

¹ Frobenius, "The Voice of Africa," vol. ii., p. 467 *inter alia*.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 468.

³ J. F. Campbell, "The Celtic Dragon Myth," with the "Geste of Fraoch and the Dragon," translated with Introduction by George Henderson, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 136.

and Europe the antelope, gazelle or the deer, may be associated with the Great Mother.¹

In India the god Soma's chariot is drawn by an antelope. I have already suggested that Soma is only a specialized form of the Babylonian Ea, whose evil *avatar* is the dragon: there is thus suggested another link between the antelope and the latter. The Ea-element explains the fish-scales and the antelope provides the horns. I shall return to the discussion of this point later.

Vayu or Pavana, the Indian god of the winds, who afterwards became merged with Indra, rides upon an antelope like the Egyptian Horus. Soma's attributes also were in large measure taken over by Indra. Hence in this complex tissue of contradictions we once more find the dragon-slayer acquiring the insignia, in this case the antelope, of his mortal enemy.

I have already referred to the fact that the early Babylonian deities could also be demons. Tiamat, the dragon whom Marduk fought, was merely the malevolent *avatar* of the Great Mother. The dragon acquired his covering of fish-scales from an evil form of Ea.

In his Hibbert Lectures Professor Sayce claimed that the name of Ea was expressed by an ideograph which signifies literally "the antelope" (p. 280). "Ea was called 'the antelope of the deep,' 'the antelope the creator,' 'the lusty antelope'. We should have expected the animal of Ea to have been the fish: the fact that it is not so points to the conclusion that the culture-god of Southern Babylonia was an amalgamation of two earlier deities, one the divine antelope and the other the divine fish." Ea was "originally the god of the river and was also associated with the snake". Nina was also both the fish-goddess and the divinity whose name is interchanged with that of the deep. Professor Sayce then refers to "the curious process of development which transformed the old serpent-goddess, 'the lady Nina,' into the embodiment of all that was hostile to the powers of heaven; but after all, Nina had sprung from the fish-god of the deep [who also was

¹ For example the red deer occupies the place usually taken by the goddess's lions upon a Cretan gem (Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," Fig. 32, p. 56): on the bronze plate from Heddernheim (A. B. Cook, "Zeus," vol. i., pl. xxxiv., and p. 620) Isis is represented standing on a hind: Artemis, another *avatar* of the same Great Mother, was intimately associated with deer.

both antelope and serpent as well, see p. 282], and Tiamat is herself 'the deep' in Semitic dress" (p. 283).

"At times Ea was regarded as a gazelle rather than as an antelope." The position of the name in the list of animals shows what species of animal must be meant. *Lulim*, "a stag," seems to be a re-duplicated form of the same word. Both *lulim* and *elim* are said to be equivalent to *sarru*, king (p. 284).

Certain Assyriologists, from whom I asked for enlightenment upon these philological matters, express some doubt as to the antiquity or to the reality of the association of the names of Ea and the word for an antelope, gazelle or stag. But whatever the value of the linguistic evidence, the archæological, at any rate as early as the time of Nebuchadnezzar I, brings both Ea and Marduk into close association with a strange creature equipped with the horns of an antelope or gazelle. The association with the antelope of the homologous deities in India and Egypt leaves the reality of the connexion in no doubt. I had hoped that Professor Sayce's evidence would have provided some explanation of the strange association of the antelope. But whether or not the philological data justify the inferences which Professor Sayce drew from them, there can be no doubt concerning the correctness of his statement that Ea was represented both by fish and antelope, for in the course of his excavations at Susa M. J. de Morgan brought to light representations of Ea's animal consisting of an antelope's head on the body of a fish.¹ He also makes the statement that the ideogram of Ea, *turahu-apsu*, means "antelope of the sea". I have already (p. 329) referred to the fact that this "antelope of the sea," the so-called "goat-fish," is identical with the prototype of the dragon.

If his claim that the names of Ea meant both a "fish" and an "antelope" were well founded, the pun would have solved this problem, as it has done in the case of many other puzzles in the history of early civilization. But if this is not the case, the question is still open for solution. As Set was held to be personified in all the desert animals, the gazelle was identified with the demon of evil for this reason. In her important treatise on "The Asiatic Dionysos" Miss Gladys Davis tells us that "in his aspect of Moon 'the lord of stars'

¹ J. de Morgan, article on "Koudourrous," *Mem. Del. en Perse*, t. 7, 1905. Figures on p. 143 and p. 148: see also an earlier article on the same subject in tome i. of the same series.

Soma has in this character the antelope as his symbol. In fact, one of the names given to the moon by the early Indians was 'mṛiga-piplu' or marked like an antelope" (p. 202). Further she adds: "The Sanskrit name for the lunar mansion over which Soma presides is 'mṛiga-śiras' or the deer-headed." If it be admitted that Soma is merely the Aryan specialization of Ea and Osiris, as I have claimed, Sayce's association of Ea with the antelope is corroborated, even if it is not explained.

In China the dragon was sometimes called "the celestial stag" (de Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 1143). In Mexico the deer has the same intimate celestial relations as it has in the Old World (see Seler, *Zeit. f. Ethnologie*, Bd. 41, p. 414). I have already referred to the remarkable Maya deer-crocodile *makara* in the Liverpool Museum (p. 344).

The systematic zoology of the ancients was lacking in the precision of modern times; and there are reasons for supposing that the antelope and gazelle could exchange places the one with the other in their divine rôles; the deer and the rabbit were also their surrogates. In India a spotted rabbit can take the place of the antelope in playing the part of what we call "the man in the moon". This interpretation is common, not only in India, but also in China, and is repeatedly found in the ancient Mexican codices (Seler, *op. cit.*). In the spread of the ideas we have just been considering from Babylonia towards the north we find that the deer takes the place of the antelope.

In view of the close resemblance between the Indian god Soma and the Phrygian Dionysus, which has been demonstrated by Miss Gladys Davis, it is of interest to note that in the service of the Greek god a man was disguised as a stag, slain and eaten.¹

Artemis also, one of the many *avatars* of the Great Mother, who was also related to the moon, was closely associated with the deer.

I have already referred to the fact that in Africa the dragon rôle of the female antelope may be assumed by the cow or buffalo. In the case of the gods Soma and Dionysus their association with the antelope or deer may be extended to the bull. Miss Davis (*op. cit.*) states that in the Homa Yasht the deer-headed lunar mansion over which the god presides is spoken of as "leading the Paurvas," i.e. Pleiades: "Mazda brought to thee (Homa) the star-studded spirit-fashioned girdle (the belt of Orion) leading the Paurvas. Now the Bull-Dionysus

¹ A. B. Cook, "Zeus," vol. i., p. 674.

was especially associated with the Pleiades on ancient gems and in classical mythology—which form part of the sign Taurus.” The bull is a sign of Haoma (Homa) or Soma. The belt of the thunder-god Thor corroborates the fact of the diffusion of these Babylonian ideas as far as Northern Europe.

THE RAM.

The close association of the ram with the thunder-god is probably related with the fact that the sun-god Amon in Egypt was represented by the ram with a distinctive spiral horn. This spiral became a distinctive feature of the god of thunder throughout the Hellenic and Phœnician worlds and in those parts of Africa which were affected by their influence or directly by Egypt.

An account of the widespread influence of the ram-headed god of thunder in the Soudan and West Africa has been given by Frobenius.¹

But the ram also became associated with Agni, the Indian fire-god, and the spiral as a head-appendage became the symbol of thunder throughout China and Japan, and from Asia spread to America where such deities as Tlaloc still retain this distinctive token of their origin from the Old World.

In Europe this association of the ram and its spiral horn played an even more obtrusive part.

The octopus as a surrogate of the Great Mother was primarily responsible for the development of the life-giving attributes of the spiral motif. But the close connexion of the Great Mother with the dragon and the thunder-weapon prepared the way for the special association of the spiral with thunder, which was confirmed when the ram with its spiral horn became the God of Thunder.

THE PIG.

The relationship of the pig to the dragon is on the whole analogous to that of the cow and the stag, for it can play either a beneficent or a malevolent part. But the nature of the special circumstances which gave the pig a peculiar notoriety as an unclean animal are so intimately associated with the “Birth of Aphrodite” that I shall defer the discussion of them for my lecture on the history of the goddess.

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 212-27.

CERTAIN INCIDENTS IN THE DRAGON MYTH.

Throughout the greater part of the area which tradition has peopled with dragons, iron is regarded as peculiarly lethal to the monsters. This seems to be due to the part played by the "smiths" who forged iron weapons with which Horus overcame Set and his followers,¹ or in the earlier versions of the legend the metal weapons by means of which the people of Upper Egypt secured their historic victory over the Lower Egyptians. But the association of meteoric iron with the thunderbolt, the traditional weapon for destroying dragons, gave added force to the ancient legend and made it peculiarly apt as an incident in the story.

But though the dragon is afraid of iron, he likes precious gems and *k'ung-ts'ing* ("The Stone of Darkness") and is fond of roasted swallows.

The partiality of dragons for swallows was due to the transmission of a very ancient story of the Great Mother, who in the form of Isis was identified with the swallow. In China, so ravenous is the monster for this delicacy, that anyone who has eaten of swallows should avoid crossing the water, lest the dragon whose home is in the deep should devour the traveller to secure the dainty morsel of swallow. But those who pray for rain use swallows to attract the beneficent deity. Even in England swallows flying low are believed to be omens of coming rain—a tale which is about as reliable as the Chinese variant of the same ancient legend.

"The beautiful gems remind us of the Indian dragons; the pearls of the sea were, of course, in India as well as China and Japan, considered to be in the special possession of the dragon-shaped sea-gods" (de Visser, p. 69). The cultural drift from West to East along the southern coast of India was effected mainly by sailors who were searching for pearls. Sharks constituted the special dangers the divers had to incur in exploiting pearl-beds to obtain the precious "giver of life". But at the time these great enterprises were first undertaken in the Indian Ocean the people dwelling in the neighbourhood of the chief pearl-beds regarded the sea as the great source of all life-giving virtues and the god who exercised these powers was incarnated in a fish. The sharks therefore had to be brought into harmony with this scheme, and

¹ Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 476.

they were rationalized as the guardians of the storehouse of life-giving pearls at the bottom of the sea.

I do not propose to discuss at present the diffusion to the East of the beliefs concerning the shark and the modifications which they underwent in the course of these migrations in Melanesia and elsewhere ; but in my lecture upon "the Birth of Aphrodite" I shall have occasion to refer to its spread to the West and explain how the shark's rôle was transferred to the dog-fish in the Mediterranean. The dog-fish then assumed a terrestrial form and became simply the dog who plays such a strange part in the magical ceremony of digging up the mandrake.

At present we are concerned merely with the shark as the guardian of the stores of pearls at the bottom of the sea. He became identified with the Nâga and the dragon, and the store of pearls became a vast treasure-house which it became one of the chief functions of the dragon to guard. This episode in the wonder-beast's varied career has a place in most of the legends ranging from Western Europe to Farthest Asia. Sometimes the dragon carries a pearl under his tongue or in his chin as a reserve of life-giving substance.

Mr. Donald Mackenzie has called attention¹ to the remarkable influence upon the development of the Dragon Myth of the familiar Egyptian representation of the child Horus with a finger touching his lips. On some pretence or other, many of the European dragon-slaying heroes, such as Sigurd and the Highland Finn, place their fingers in their mouths. This action is usually rationalized by the statement that the hero burnt his fingers while cooking the slain monster.

THE ETHICAL ASPECT.

So far in this discussion I have been dealing mainly with the problems of the dragon's evolution, the attainment of his or her distinctive anatomical features and physiological attributes. But during this process of development a moral and ethical aspect of the dragon's character was also emerging.

Now that we have realized the fact of the dragon's homology with the moon-god it is important to remember that one of the primary functions of this deity, which later became specialized in the Egyptian

¹ "Egyptian Myth and Legend," pp. 340 *et seq.*

god Thoth, was the measuring of time and the keeping of records. The moon, in fact, was the controller of accuracy, of truth, and order, and therefore the enemy of falsehood and chaos. The identification of the moon with Osiris, who from a dead king eventually developed into a king of the dead, conferred upon the great Father of Waters the power to exact from men respect for truth and order. For even if at first these ideas were only vaguely adumbrated and not expressed in set phrases, it must have been an incentive to good discipline when men remembered that the record-keeper and the guardian of law and order was also the deity upon whose tender mercies they would have to rely in the life after death. Set, the enemy of Osiris, who is the real prototype of the evil dragon, was the antithesis of the god of justice : he was the father of falsehood and the symbol of chaos. He was the prototype of Satan, as Osiris was the first definite representative of the Deity of which any record has been preserved.

The history of the evil dragon is not merely the evolution of the devil, but it also affords the explanation of his traditional peculiarities, his bird-like features, his horns, his red colour, his wings and cloven hoofs, and his tail. They are all of them the dragon's distinctive features ; and from time to time in the history of past ages we catch glimpses of the reality of these identifications. In one of the earliest woodcuts (Fig. 14) found in a printed book Satan is depicted as a monk with the bird's feet of the dragon. A most interesting intermediate phase is seen in a Chinese water-colour in the John Rylands Library, in which the thunder-dragon is represented in a form almost exactly reproducing that of the devil of European tradition (Fig. 13.).

Early in the Christian era, when ancient beliefs in Egypt became disguised under a thin veneer of Christianity, the story of the conflict between Horus and Set was converted into a conflict between Christ and Satan. M. Clermont-Ganneau has described an interesting bas-relief in the Louvre in which a hawk-headed St. George, clad in Roman military uniform and mounted on a horse, is slaying a dragon which is represented by Set's crocodile.¹ But the Biblical references to Satan leave no doubt as to his identity with the dragon, who is

¹ "Horus et St. George d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre," *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, t. xxxii., 1876, p. 196, pl. xviii. It is right to explain that M. Clermont-Ganneau's interpretation of this relief has not been accepted by all scholars.

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FIG. 13.—THE GOD OF THUNDER
(From a Chinese drawing (? 17th Century) in the John Rylands Library)



FIG. 14.—FROM JOANNES DE TURRECREMATA'S "MEDITATIONES SEU CONTEMPLATIONES". Rome; Ulrich Han, 1467



specifically mentioned in the Book of Revelations as "the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan" (xx. 2).

The devil Set was symbolic of disorder and darkness, while the god Osiris was the maintainer of order and the giver of light. Although the moon-god, in the form of Osiris, Thoth and other deities, thus came to acquire the moral attributes of a just judge, who regulated the movements of the celestial bodies, controlled the waters upon the earth, and was responsible for the maintenance of order in the Universe, the ethical aspect of his functions was in large measure disguised by the material importance of his duties. In Babylonia similar views were held with respect to the beneficent water-god Ea, who was the giver of civilization, order and justice, and Sin, the moon-god, who "had attained a high position in the Babylonian pantheon," as "the guide of the stars and the planets, the overseer of the world at night". "From that conception a god of high moral character soon developed." "He is an extremely beneficent deity, he is a king, he is the ruler of men, he produces order and stability, like Shamash and like the Indian Varuṇa and Mitra, but besides that, he is also a judge, he loosens the bonds of the imprisoned, like Varuṇa. His light, like that of Varuṇa, is the symbol of righteousness. . . . Like the Indian Varuṇa and the Iranian Mazdāh, he is a god of wisdom."

When these Egyptian and Babylonian ideas were borrowed by the Aryans, and the Iranian Mazdāh and the Indian Varuṇa assumed the rôle of the beneficent deity of the former more ancient civilizations, the material aspect of the functions of the moon-god became less obtrusive; and there gradually emerged the conception, to which Zarathushtra first gave concrete expression, of the beneficent god Ahura Mazdāh as "an omniscient protector of morality and creator of marvellous power and knowledge". "He is the most-knowing one, and the most-seeing one. No one can deceive him. He watches with radiant eyes everything that is done in open or in secret." "Although he has a strong personality he has no anthropomorphic features." He has shed the material aspects which loomed so large in his Egyptian, Babylonian and earlier Aryan prototypes, and a more ethereal conception of a God of the highest ethical qualities has emerged.

The whole of this process of transformation has been described with deep insight and lucid exposition by Professor Cumont, from whose im-

portant and convincing memoir I have quoted so freely in the foregoing paragraphs.¹

The creation of a beneficent Deity of such moral grandeur inevitably emphasized the baseness and the malevolence of the "Power of Evil". No longer are the gods merely glorified human beings who can work good or evil as they will ; but there is now an all-powerful God controlling the morals of the universe, and in opposition to Him "the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan".

¹ Albert J. Carnoy, "The Moral Deities of Iran and India and their Origins," *The American Journal of Theology*, vol. xxi., No. 1, Jan. 1917, p. 58.

THE JEWS IN THE "USE OF YORK".

BY ROBERT FAWTIER.

AGRÉGÉ D'HISTOIRE, ANCIEN MEMBRE DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE
DE ROME.

IN the service for Good Friday, in the Catholic Church, occurs a set of nine prayers called "*orationes sollemnes*"; they are prayers for the Church,—for the Pope,—for the ecclesiastical hierarchy,—for the Emperor,—for catechumens,—for the suffering : the sick, the hungry, prisoners and seamen,—for the Jews,—for the heathen.

The following is an example of the ritual used for these prayers : ¹

[The priest.] *Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, pro Ecclesia sancta Dei, ut eam Deus et Dominus noster pacificare et custodire dignetur, toto orbe terrarum subiciens ei principatus et potestates, deque nobis quietam et tranquillam vitam de gentibus glorificare Deum patrem omnipotentem. Oremus.*

[The deacon.] *Flectamus genua—Levate.*

[The priest.] *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriam tuam omnibus in Christo gentibus revelasti, custodi opera misericordiae tuae ut ecclesia tua toto orbe diffusa stabili fide in confessione tui nominis perseveret, per eundem [Christum dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum.]*

[The congregation.] *Amen.*

In the prayer for the Jews, however, and only in this, the ritual differs : the priest does not say *Oremus* at the end of the first monition, the deacon does not add *Flectamus genua* and *levate*, and the congregation does not kneel.

In his excellent note concerning the prayer for the Jews, M. Canet ²

¹ I quote according to the use of Sarum. The *Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg. Oxford, 1916, 8vo, p. 110.

² Louis Canet, *La prière "pro judaeis" de la liturgie catholique romaine* in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, LXI. 1911, pp. 213-21.

has shown that in the Primitive Church, i.e. before the IXth century, the ritual was the same for the prayer for the Jews as for the others but that, under antisemitic influences, the Church was pressed by the people to alter the ritual, the congregation refusing to obey the injunction of the deacon. M. Canet observes three stages in the evolution of the ritual :—¹

- (1) *Oremus* and *flectamus* (till the IXth century).
- (2) *Oremus* without *flectamus* (IXth-XVIth century).
- (3) Neither *Oremus* nor *flectamus* (after XVIth century).

A manuscript of the John Rylands Library shows us that a fourth stage may perhaps be added to the three discerned by M. Canet.

This manuscript [*Latin* 190] is a codex on vellum of 168 leaves (291 × 199 mm.) formed by the binding together of two manuscripts of which the first only (fa. 1-52) concerns us here. Apart from a few additions in later hands on fo. 7*b* and fo. 8 *a* and *b*, this manuscript is written by one hand in double columns of twenty-one lines, with rubrics and many initials drawn crudely but carefully in red and blue and in a primitive style. It is unfortunately imperfect at the end, but the part which we have contains a most important text of the Missal according to the use of York.²

We can easily fix the date of the writing. Fa. 2-7*a* contain a calendar in which the feast of St. Thomas Becket is correctly placed on the 29th of December.³ This gives a *terminus a quo* which cannot be before 1174, the murdered archbishop having been canonized the 23rd of November, 1173.⁴ As we find the translation of the body of the same saint, written by a decidedly later hand, on the 7th of July,⁵ we can be certain that our manuscript was written before July, 1220.⁶ The strongly marked difference between the writing of the

¹ *ead. loc.*, p. 218.

² This manuscript was utilized by Dr. Henderson for his *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis* in *Surtees Society*, LIX. LX. 1874. It was at that time the property of Dean (afterwards Bishop) J. Gott of Leeds. It was purchased by the John Rylands Library in 1912 through Mr. Quaritch.

³ *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 6*b*.

⁴ *The Political History of England*, ed. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, t. II. p. 297.

⁵ *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 4.

⁶ *The Political History of England*, t. III. p. 19.

feast and that of the translation leads us to conclude that our manuscript was written in the very last years of the XIIIth century, and therefore that it is in fact the oldest known copy of the use of York.

We can less easily identify the place where it was written ; we have, however, grounds for a reasonable hypothesis. The calendar gives for St. Hilda's Day, the day of the translation of her body, the 25th of August.¹ As the day generally ascribed for the commemoration of this saint is the 17th of November,² we may conclude that our manuscript must come from a place where the holy body had been preserved, and for which therefore the translation was the anniversary to be commemorated rather than the real feast of the saint. This was the case at Whitby Abbey³ of which St. Hilda was the founder, and from which the holy body had been removed to Glastonbury in the time of the Danish invasion to be restored to its original resting place when the Abbey was practically refounded in the XIth century.⁴

Another point of less weight but worthy of attention is the fact that All Souls' Day is marked in the calendar.⁵ We know that this feast had no official recognition in England before the Council of Oxford in 1222,⁶ and we have shown that our manuscript was written before 1220. But we know that the celebration of this feast was in use in the Cluniac monasteries⁷ a long time before its admission in England and that this admission was due to Cluniac influences. As our manuscript marks this feast in the calendar we may ascribe its origin to a Cluniac monastery. Whitby was a Cluniac house.

We believe, therefore, that we are justified in concluding that the

¹ *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 4b.

² *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, I. 583.

³ Cf. J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*. York, 1758, fol. pp. 68-85. L. Charlton, *The History of Whitby and Whitby Abbey*. York, 1779, 4to, and J. C. Atkinson in his introductory chapters to the *Cartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby* in *Surtees Society*, LXIX. 1879. It is interesting to note that St. Hilda's Day at Whitby was the day of the translation. The yearly fair was appointed on that day by King Henry II. and was held on the same day till the XVIIIth century. L. Charlton, *op. cit.*, I. 139.

⁴ Burton, *loc. cit.*, p. 59. Charlton, *op. cit.*, I. 44.

⁵ *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 6. "*Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum.*"

⁶ Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum amplissima collectio*, XXII. p. 1153.

⁷ Hergenröther and Kaulen, *Kirchenlexikon*, art. Allerseelen.

Rylands manuscript was written in Whitby Abbey in the very last years of the XIIIth century.

The manuscript contains the collects, secrets, and post-communions for the temporal of the year till the 29th Sunday "*post octavas Pentecostis*," which gives us the text of the service for Good Friday.

The prayer for the Jews is composed in the following manner :—¹

Oremus et pro perfidis Judaeis ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen De cordibus eorum ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Oremus.

Hic Flectamus genua [rubric].

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui etiam judaicam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis, exaudi preces nostras quas tibi pro illius populi obcecatione deferimus, ut agnita veritatis tuae luce quae Christus est a suis tenebris eruantur per eundem.

The rubric has been corrected by the addition in black ink of the word "*non*" (which gives "*Hic non flectamus genua*") in a hand as to which it is difficult to say if it is a much later or a nearly contemporary one. The rubrics for the eight other prayers are : *Oremus. Diaconus : Flectamus genua.*

Two explanations are possible, and we must choose between them : either we have a mere scribe's mistake, or our manuscript gives a new form of the ritual. I accept the second explanation for the following reasons :—

(1) As the scribe is here writing a very exceptional formula in the middle of a series of similar ones, it is reasonable to suppose that his attention would be attracted by the difference and that he copied correctly what was before him.

(2) Even if we accept the correction, the formula used when the *flectamus* is omitted for the Jews is not the one found in our manuscript. The phrase we find in the old English missals is "*Hic non dicitur Flectamus genua*,"² or "*Hic non dicatur Flectamus genua*"³.

¹ Latin MS. 190, fo. 30 a and b.

² *Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. E. W. Henderson, I. 104. *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, 1874, 8vo, p. 93.

³ *The Sarum Missal*, p. 112. M. Canet, *op. cit.*, quotes the continental and some of the earliest English formulas.

(3) The rubric at the beginning of the "*Orationes sollemnes*" gives no indication of a particular ritual for the prayer for the Jews and says only "*Post passionem dicat Episcopus vel sacerdos has orationes*".¹ Contrariwise the later manuscripts of the use of York,² the manuscript of the use of Hereford,³ the manuscript of the use of Sarum,⁴ mark the difference between the ritual for the prayer for the Jews and that of the others.

I therefore conclude that the use of York for the Good Friday service differed at the end of the XIIth century from the others in this particular point. When the priest came to that part of the service where the Jews were prayed for, the deacon was silent, but the congregation preserved the truly Christian custom of kneeling for the Jews, making no difference between them and other men on the day when Christ died for all.

If we are right, the three stages discerned by M. Canet must, at least for the Church of York, be modified as follows:—

(1) *Oremus* and *flectamus* (till the IXth century).

(2) *Oremus* and kneeling of the congregation but without *flectamus* (IXth-XIIIth).

(3) *Oremus* (XIIIth-XVIth century).

(4) No *Oremus* neither *flectamus* (after XVIth century).

And we have here another instance of the preservation of old customs in the English churches.

I do not believe, however, that this practice of kneeling was preserved a long time after the XIIth century. The very slight difference between the writing of the corrector and that of the scribe is evidence that a very short time after the end of the XIIth century the Church of York, like many others, in the Iron Age forgot the gospel of forgiveness.

¹ *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 28.

² p. 103. *Post passionem praelatus, osculato textu, dicat has orationes, stans in dextra parte altaris, sine Dominus vobiscum, et ad unamquamque illarum dicatur "Flectamus genua" nisi ad eam quae pro Judaeis oratur.*

³ p. 91. *Lecta passione in primis fiat oratio pro Ecclesia Sancta Dei et caetera sequentes per ordinem pronuntiante Diacono "Flectamus genua". Pro Judaeis tamen non genua flectant.*

⁴ p. 110. "*Sequantur orationes sollemnes et unamquamque illarum dicatur 'Flectamus genua' nisi ad illam quae pro Judaeis orat.*"

SHORT ARTICLES.

AN UNIDENTIFIED PAPYRUS IN THE NEW OXY- RHYNCHUS VOLUME.

IN the new volume (vol. xiii.) of the papyri from Oxyrhynchus, the editors have given us among the theological papyri what they describe as—

Pap. 1603. HOMILY CONCERNING WOMEN.

They attribute the papyrus to the fifth or sixth century, and say that the subject is a diatribe, addressed probably to ascetics, against the female sex, through whom the Evil One is wont to exert his wiles ! I pointed out to Dr. Grenfell that it was a part of a *Homily on the Decollation of John the Baptist*, and that it would be found amongst Chrysostom's Works (ed. Savile, p. 545) with some hesitation as to authorship. Dr. Grenfell, accordingly, re-edited his text as below, with the following additional notes.

- [. . .] α του Ουριου δο[λοφονιαν
 [. . .] ε· δια γυναικος το[ν σοφωτατον
 [Σο]λ[ο]μωνα προς παραβασιν [κατεστρωσε
 δια γυναικος τον ανδριω[ατον Σαμψων(α ?)
 5 ξυρησας ετυφλωσε· δια γ[υναικος τους
 υιους Ηλει του ιερεως εδαφ[ισας εκτανε ?
 δια γυναικος τον ουρανον [. . .
 εδιωξε· δια γυναικος το[ν ευγενεστατον
 Ιωσηφ εν φυλ[ακ]η δεσμευσας [κατεκλεισε·
 10 δια γυναικος τον παντος [κοσμου λυχνον
 Ιωαννην απετεμεν· τι δε λεγω περι αυων
 δια γυναικος τους αγλους [ουρανοθεν κα
 τεβαλε· δια γυναικος παντα[ς κατασφαζει·
 παντας φονευει· παντας α[τι]μαζει·
 15 γυνη γαρ αναιδης ουδενος φειδεται

ου Δευιτην τιμα · ουκ ιερεα ε[ντρεπεται
 ου προφητην αιδεται · ω [κακον κακου
 κακιστον γυνη πουνηρα[κ]αν μ[εν πενιχρα η
 εαν δε και πλουτον εχη τη πουνη[ρια αυτης
 20 συ]νεργουντα · δισσουν το κακο[ν αφορητον
 το ζωον · αθεραπευτον [το θηριον

1. Not τη]ν του Ουριου. δο[λοφονιαν εξεμην]ε seems too short.
6. ηδαφ[ισε, MS. too short.
- 7-8. (εδιωξε), omitted MS.
14. There seems to be no room for παντας υβριζει after ατ[ιμαζει.
18. [κ]αν μ[εν πενιχρα η,
 or possibly,
 [κ]αν η [πενιχρα.
 There is certainly not room for τη κακια πλουτοι as well.
19. και : omitted MSS.
21. αθεραπευτον [το θηριον (v.l. in Sav.), suits better than αθερα-
 πευτος [νοσος.

Both papyrus and MSS. seem to suffer by omissions owing to homoioteleuton or homoioarcheion.

To the foregoing I add the following supplementary remarks.

The passage of pseudo-Chrysostom will be found quoted in the *Parallela Sacra* of John of Damascus (ed. Lequien, ii. 411).

From this we get the following further rectifications :—

1. προς την κατα του Ουριου (Par.).
3. προς παραβασιν [κατεστρεψε (Par.).
6. εδαφισεν (Par.).
7. Complete the line thus
 τον ουρανο[δρομον Ηλιαν (Par.).
- 12, 13. (κατεβαλε) : the clause is omitted *per incuriam* in Par.
17. εναιδεται (Par.).
18. καν η πενιχρα (Par.) without τη κακια πλουτοι.
19. Par. has ελη for εχη.
21. αθεραπευτον το θηριον (Par.).

I omit one or two unimportant variations.

RENDEL HARRIS.

FROM MERLIN TO SHAKESPEARE.

ADVENTURES OF AN ENGLISH PROPHECY.

THE Latin MS. 210 [R. 39882] in the John Rylands Library consists of three manuscripts written in the XIVth and bound together in the XVth century. It contains three theological treatises by John Waldeby, a hermit of St. Augustine, a set of *Exempla* ascribed, probably erroneously, to Jacques de Vitry, a treatise on the ten capital sins by Robert Grosseteste, and another devotional treatise on the Ten Commandments. One of the characteristic features of this manuscript is that, although it consists mainly of Latin texts, a contemporary hand has added some fragments in vernacular on the blank leaves, while in the treatise on the Commandments the text of each commandment is given in English rhyme before its Latin commentary. Our manuscript is therefore an illustration of the passing of the Latin language and the revival of English.

One of the English additions is a "prophecy" in which an unknown writer laments the times on which he is fallen, and foretells the confusion of England which shall follow certain signs. We print below a transcription of this text with a translation into modern English. A part of it (lines 3-10), under the title of "Prosperity" and with a distinctly more modern orthography, is found in the MS. *Arch. Selden. B. 24* in the Bodleian Library, where it follows Chaucer's poem on "Truth" and where it is itself ascribed to Chaucer. As such it was printed by R. Morris in his edition of Chaucer in 1866 (t. VI. p. 296). It is rejected by W. W. Skeat in his critical edition.¹ But as far as we are able to discover in the absence of that most desirable catalogue of *Initia* which we hope some English university will some day undertake, the full text of this little poem has never been published.

As far as we are able to judge after a short study, the language of our fragment does not permit us to determine exactly to what part of England its author belonged; he was probably of the Midlands, but that is all we will venture to say. His date may be surmised with more probability to be the middle of the fourteenth century; his prosody is a mixture of octosyllabic, decasyllabic, and Alexandrine

¹ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1894, 8vo, t. I. pp. 46, 47.

lines arranged now in couplets now in quatrains and interrupted by three alliterative lines containing no rhymes ; a fitting measure in which to record the chaotic state of affairs which his lines lament.

- Whanne lyf ys most louyd and deth is most hatyd
 Deth drawyth his drawt and makyth man ful nakyd,
 Ryȝt as pouerte cawsyth soburnesse
 And febelnesse enforsyth contynence,
 5 Ryȝt so prosperite and syknesse
 Be modure of vice and negligence,
 And powere also cawsyt insolence
 And hyȝ onewr changyt gode þewys.
 There is no more perilous pestilense
 10 Than hiȝ astat ȝeuen unto shrewys.
 Pes makyth plente, plente makyth proyde,
 Proyde makyth plee, plee makyth pouerte, pouerte makyth pees,
 As þefore grace growyth after gouernawnce.
 Whenne lordis wol lose har olde lawys
 15 And prestis buth varyynge in har sawys,
 And lecherye is holde solas
 And oppressyon for purchas ¹
 þanne shal þe lond of Albion
 19 be nyȝ to his confusyon.

Translation : When life is most loved, and death most hated—death draweth his shaft and maketh man all naked.—Even as poverty causeth soberness—and feebleness enforceth continence,—right so prosperity and sickness—be mother of vice and negligence,—and power also causeth insolence,—and high honour changeth good servants.—There is no more perilous pestilence—than high estate given unto shrews.—Peace maketh plenty, plenty maketh pride,—pride maketh strife, strife maketh poverty, poverty maketh peace ;—even as grace groweth after governance.—When lords shall lose their old laws,—and priests shall vary in their precepts,—and lechery is held for solace,—and oppression for purchase,—then shall the land of Albion—be nigh to her confusion.

This little poem appears to have had an extensive vogue. Its last six lines became a popular saying, which we find in more or less varying forms now as “Chaucer’s prophecy,” now as “Merlin’s”.

As “Chaucer’s prophecy” it appears in the Aldine edition of Chaucer² in the following form :—

¹ In front of lines 14-17 the scribe has added *prophetia*.

² *The Aldine Edition of the British Poets. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* London, 1845, 12mo, t. VI. p. 287.

Gwan prestis faylin in her sawes
 And Lordis turnin Goddis lawes
 Ageynis ryt
 And lecherie is holdin as privy solas
 And robberie as fre purchas
 Beware thanne of ille
 Then schall the Lond of Albion
 Turnin to confusion
 As sumtyme it befelle.¹

The editor states² he found this text "on the flyleaf of a miscellaneous old MS. containing the Meditations of St. Anselm, and other devotional pieces in Latin. The date at the end of the volume, but in a different hand, is M. CCC. LXXXI." But he does not tell us what this manuscript really is, so that from his indications it is impossible to trace it.

Caxton, in his small *quarto* edition of Chaucer, prints on the blank space left on the last leaf the following "saying," which with his usual wisdom he does not ascribe to anybody, and in which it is easy to recognise a slightly different redaction of our text :—

Whan feyth failleth in prestes sawes
 And lordes hestes ar holden for lawes
 And robbery is holden purchas
 And lechery is holden solas
 Than shal the Lond of Albyon
 Be brought to grete confusioun.³

The gentleman who wrote in 1589 the book known as the "Arte of Poesie," and who is generally called George Puttenham,⁴ was less cautious than the illustrious printer, and inserted in his work the same saying in a form again slightly different, but ascribing it with a certain emphasis to Geoffrey Chaucer :—

"Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, father of our English Poets, hath these verses following the distributor :—

When faith failes in Preestes sawes,
 And Lords hestes are holden for lawes,
 And robberie is tane for purchase,
 And lechery for solace,

¹ *ead. loc.*

² *Ibid.*

³ See *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat. Oxford, 1894, 8vo, t. I. pp. 45-6.

⁴ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. E. Arber. London, 1869, 4to.

Then shall the Realme of Albion
Be brought to great confusion." ¹

Needless to say that recent Chaucerian scholars do not admit the authenticity of this piece.

In Puttenham's own time, moreover, this saying was attributed by public opinion to a perhaps more illustrious and certainly more fabulous source, to none other than Merlin Ambrosius, Geoffrey of Monmouth's prophet, whose "prophecies," first launched in the XIIth century, did not cease to be reproduced and added to till at least the XVIIth.² For we find in Shakespeare's *King Lear* among further examples of these popular "sayings" a last echo of our XIVth century model.³

In Act III. Scene 2, at the close of the scene the fool speaks a prophesy which in the main differs from our text, but of which the first line and two of the last are evidently taken from the same source:—

<i>Fool.</i> I'll speak a prophecy ere I go:—	
When priests are more in word than matter;	81
When brewers mar their malt with water;	
When nobles are their tailor's tutors;	
No heretics burn'd, but wenches' suitors;	
When every case in law is right;	85
No squire in debt, no poor knight;	
When slanders do not live in tongues,	
Nor cutpurses come not to throngs;	
When usurers till their gold i' th' field,	
And bowds and whoris do churches build,	90
Then shall the realm of Albion	
Come to great confusion.	
Then comes the time, who lives to see 't,	
That going shall be used with feet.	
This prophecy Merlin ⁴ shall make; for I live before his time.	95

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 232.

² See *The Life of Merlin Surnamed Ambrosius, his Prophecies and Predictions* [by Thomas Heywood]. London, 1641, 4to. Nothing similar to our text is to be found among the numerous prophecies referring to all times contained in Heywood's work, but we note on page 361 the following remark: "Many other prophecies have beene disperst abroad under the name of Merlin". It is perhaps needless to add that countless examples of prophecies of Merlin and others were current for centuries in France as in England. The most famous and unquenchable is perhaps the prophecy ascribed to Malachi, which was quoted at the time of the last papal elections.

³ We acknowledge with pleasure our debt to Dr. Rendell Harris who called our attention to the Shakespeare text, and thereby, in fact, to all the others.

⁴ Another reference to Merlin's prophecies appears in Henry IV. Part . Act III. Scene 1, lines 146-53.

It appears to be doubtful if this passage is Shakespeare's or an addition made by an actor.¹ In any case, be it addition or genuine text, for the general public our prophecy thus survives as part of one of the masterpieces of English literature.

In conclusion, we may observe that, in spite of the variations we have noted in the text itself, the rhythm remains exactly the same. This is, in fact, very natural, a prophecy being a kind of consecrated formula of which the rhythm, perhaps an old magical survival, is an essential part.

The persistence of such prophecies is also not difficult to explain. Do not the "signs of the times" remain much the same from age to age, and if we are in the mood, may we not, for instance, see at the present time all the portents from which our mediæval pessimist spells such confusion?

E. C. FAWTIER, D.Litt. (Paris),
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R. FAWTIER, *Agrégé d' Histoire*
Ancien Membre de l'Ecole française de Rome.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY LATIN MANUSCRIPT No. 15 (ST. CYPRIAN).

THE courtesy of the Editor has enabled me to add some interesting notes on the history of this manuscript. Those communicated to him by Monsieur Emile Radé, sub-librarian of the town of Colmar, have shed welcome light on the history of the manuscript during the middle period of last century, and both the Librarian of the John Rylands Library and myself desire to render him our cordial thanks for his kind communication.

The Cyprian manuscript doubtless remained in the Murbach library till 1791, at which date it was, along with the other books in the library, transferred to the Colmar town library. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had already somehow come into the possession of Canon Maimbourg, parish priest of Colmar. While it was in his possession, to be exact, in the year 1846, Dom (afterwards Cardinal) Pitra saw it, and wrote out the following description :—

¹ See the excellent note to line 81 in the *Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. H. H. Furness, Vol. V. Philadelphia, 1880, 8vo., p. 178-9.

- S. Cypriani opera. Codex membr. vetustissimus, caractere unciali interdum merovingico, saec. circ. VIII. Continentur in eo: 1^o epistolae ad diversos, quarum VII ad Cornelium, ex quibus duae inscribuntur ad Cornelium pseudo-episcopum. 2^o opuscula tria litteris intermixta, nempe ad Quirinum libri tres, de vanitate idolorum, sententiae LXXXVII episc. In fine legitur nota, ipsiusmet celeberrimi Bartholomaei subscriptio: orate pro Bartholomaeo abbate Murbacensi. Textus nitidus, accurate manu coeava correctus; ex modo recitata subscriptione constat hunc librum ad insignem abbatae Murbacensis librariam pertinuisse."

After the death of Canon Maimbourg, his heir, Henri Chauffour, clerk to the tribunal of commerce at Colmar, sold the volume and the other books—including the St. Cyprian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford—, to a Paris bookseller named Duprat. From him Libri must have bought or stolen our codex.

The manuscript is not mentioned in the ninth century catalogue of the Murbach library, published by H. Bloch in the *Strassburger Festschrift zur 46. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (1901), pp. 257-85. In that list the Oxford Cyprian figures, but not this.

Mr. Mario Esposito, formerly a member of the staff of the John Rylands Library, has reminded me that our manuscript is described in Heinrich Schenkl's *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* (Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Bd. CL. (5) [1905], pp. 55 f. no. 4819). Schenkl there expresses the opinion that it was the unfrocked Benedictine, Jean Baptiste Mangérard, a prowler among the libraries of the Rhineland about the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, who altered the Murbach note. On this celebrated thief of manuscripts the classic treatise is of course that of Ludwig Traube (*ob.* 1907) and Rudolf Ehwald in the *Bavarian Abhandlungen, Dritte Klasse*,¹ Bd. XXIII. (1904), part 2.

A. SOUTER.

SINN FÉIN.

"OURSELVES ALONE." The occurrence of the now familiar English rendering of Sinn Féin, printed in capitals by way of emphasis, in a

¹ It is important to distinguish between this "Dritte Klasse" and the 'philosophisch-philologische Klasse,' as I know to my cost.

Dublin pamphlet of 1842, cannot fail to evoke one's interest at the present time. The title of the pamphlet to which we refer is : " Facts in reply to a letter addressed by Mr. George Mathews to the Protestant Dissenting Congregations of Strand Street and Eustace Street, Dublin. By a member of the congregation of Strand Street." To show the manner in which the phrase is employed it is necessary to quote a little of the context. " Who is to choose our religious belief and our pastor ? OURSELVES ALONE ; and no relator, or court upon earth, has any right to interfere with our choice."

It will be noticed that the phrase is used in such a way, besides the emphasis of capitalisation, as to suggest its current employment at the period. Supposing this view to be correct, can one discover its origin ? Accustomed as we are to take it merely as a translation of *Sinn Féin*, we do not stop to think whether it is a natural English expression or not ; but employed as the phrase is in this case, it has a ring which is not quite English about it, noticeable here because the pamphlet is in English. Almost instinctively the mind translates it into Latin, and the Latin of the Vulgate too. Can the source be found there ? We venture to suggest that it may. There is a verse in Ezra, chap. iv. 3 (in the Vulgate, 1 Esdras iv. 3) the latter part of which may have been responsible for its currency : " *Sed nos ipsi soli aedificabimus Domino Deo nostro,*" rendered in the Douay Old Testament of 1609-10, " But we ourselues alone wil build to the Lord our God ". This verse, specially appropriate for ecclesiastical purposes such as the dedication of churches, may easily have been responsible for the introduction of the phrase into the religious diction of Ireland, and thence into the common speech of the country. When William Bedell prepared his translation of the Bible in Irish (1685), the verse was translated thus : *acht rinn féin lé céite do déanam é don Tigeapna Dia Írpaet.* The words " *Nos ipsi soli* " are thus rendered, as will be seen, *Sinn féin* in the first Irish Bible.

We have tried to discover a clue to the original source of the term as found in the common idiom of the country. The founders of the movement of *Sinn Féin* may not have had this verse consciously in mind, but there is at least ground for thinking that the phrase has its remoter origin there.

G. VINE.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE are glad to be able to announce the rapidly approaching realization of the purpose which the Governors of the John Rylands Library had in view in December, 1914, when the present scheme was inaugurated for rendering assistance to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, by providing them with the nucleus of a new library to replace the famous collection of books and manuscripts which had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Germans, some four months earlier.

In January last, Belgium having been freed from the hateful presence of the invaders, the University was repatriated, by the return of the authorities to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to reassemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which were already taking shape.

The Rector of the University (Monsignor P. Ladeuze) writing under date of the 21st September, in the name of his Alma Mater, at the conclusion of the first session of its revival, refers in terms of gratitude and appreciation to what has been accomplished by the Rylands Governors in collaboration with the Executive of the National Committee for promoting the resuscitation of the Library of the University of Louvain, and with the aid of the many contributors both individual and institutional, who with great promptitude and generosity responded to our appeals for help.

From the same source we are delighted to learn of the success which has attended the University since its reopening. No less than 3200 students have been in attendance, and Monsignor Ladeuze

anticipates a still larger number of entries at the opening of the new session this month.

As we pointed out in a previous report, one of the first essentials in the organization and equipment of any University is a library, for without one it has been likened to a garden without flowers, or a purse without money. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that, in the absence of this essential part of the University's equipment, the work of the students has been somewhat hampered. Fortunately, this is a deficiency which will be remedied during the ensuing session, since temporary premises have been secured, to serve as library and reading room, pending the erection of the new library building, and it will be our privilege to assist in the furnishing of the shelves with a live, up-to-date collection of books designed to meet the immediate requirements of staff and students.

To this end we are making arrangements for the despatch to Louvain of the first instalment of the new library, which has been in process of formation here in Manchester since December, 1914. This consignment will consist of 5000 volumes, accompanied by a catalogue on cards, and will be followed by others as quickly as they can be made ready for shipment.

It is gratifying to be able to report that the appeal for further contributions which we made in our last issue, has met with the same encouraging response as was accorded to our earlier requests for help. In proof of this statement it needs only to be pointed out that since the publication of our last report upwards of 9000 additional volumes have been contributed, whereby the total number of volumes actually received and registered is increased to 21,000. Even this does not complete the record, for it does not take into account many other definite promises of help which have still to materialize, and several consignments of books, at present in course of transit from such distant parts of the Empire as Bombay, Toronto, and Sydney, which together will still further swell the total by many thousands of volumes, on behalf of the Governors and the Executive Committee.

This is a very substantial beginning for a new library, and we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks to those who have assisted us in the formation of such a collection ; but when it is compared with the library it is intended to replace, comprising as it did at least a quarter of a million of volumes, it can only be described as the nucleus,

and it is obvious that very much more remains to be done if it is to approach anything like the equivalent of its predecessor.

There are a number of well-wishers who decided to withhold their proposed gifts until such time as we could announce the repatriation of the University, and the actual re-establishment of the library at Louvain. This was at a time when Belgium was still in the occupation of the Germans ; and there may have been some reason for their anxiety, although personally, incurable optimists as we are, we never had any doubts as to the ultimate issue of events. There can be no longer any reason for withholding such contributions, which we shall be glad to receive at the earliest convenience of the prospective donors.

In making our last appeal we explained that whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we had in contemplation, we were anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words, that its equipment should include the necessary material for research in the history, language, and literature of this country together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. That appeal has borne excellent fruit, as will be seen from the accompanying list of contributors. Many societies have furnished either full sets of their transactions and other publications, or such as were in print and consequently available. Several of the leading publishers have also rendered most valuable assistance in the building up of the collection on its modern side.

The Honorary Secretary of the Irish Texts Society (Miss Eleanor Hull) in forwarding to us on behalf of the Council of that Society, a set of their recently issued edition of Keating's "History of Ireland," took the opportunity of reminding us of the close and friendly connection that has existed for a long period, but more particularly during the seventeenth century, between Louvain and Ireland.

The communication is so full of interesting information, which is not otherwise accessible in the form in which it is given, that, with Miss Hull's consent, we are reproducing it for the benefit of our readers, and in order that it may have the wider publicity which it merits.

"At a time when Catholic education was difficult to obtain in Ireland, great numbers of young men found in Louvain an educational centre. Three Irish colleges flourished there ; the Irish Dominican College in the street then known as 'Rue des Dominicains Irlandais' ;

the Pastoral College in the Rue des Orphelins, which up to a recent period bore the name 'Collegium Hibernum' cut in stone above its gateway; and the still more important foundation of the Recollects in the Marché aux Porcs, established in 1616 and named after Saint Anthony of Padua."

"Within the walls of this later college worked the famous group of scholars who might fitly be termed the Irish Bollandists. Ward, Fleming, John Colgan, O'Sheerin, Stephen White, and Luke Wadding contributed to the collection and compilation of the Irish Saints' Lives, and other religious works, some of which were published by Colgan under the titles 'Trias Thaumaturga' and 'Acta Sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ,' great undertakings which Colgan's feeble health did not permit him to complete, but much more of which remains in manuscript among the Irish collections now in the Burgundian Library of Brussels. These were found in Colgan's room and removed from Louvain for safety about the time of the French Revolution."

"In 1608 there came to Louvain the hunted Earls, Tyrone and Tyrconnell (O'Neill and O'Donnell) with their party of nearly one hundred followers. They were hospitably entertained by the city during the whole winter, O'Neill being lodged in a hostelry known as the 'Imperial House,' and O'Donnell in another palace close by. A contemporary record, written by the Secretary who accompanied the Earls in their travels, describes the revels organized for their entertainment at Christmas, and also the unusual event of the spearing of a large salmon through the bridge crossing a branch of the River Dyle brought up into the city with the flow of water consequent on the breaking up of the ice after a severe winter."

"On the floor of the Chapel of St. Anthony is still to be seen the inscription on the tomb of two of their party, Rose, wife of Cahil, O'Donnell's brother, and her son Hugh. After Cahil's death she married the great Owen Roe O'Neill (the Don Eugenio O'Neil of Spanish documents) whose early career in the Netherlands gave promise of his warlike nature, and of those powers of organization which he afterwards exercised in his own country.

"Finally, we recall the visit of Michael O'Clery, afterwards one of the 'Four Masters,' from Donegal to Louvain to assist Hugh Ward in carrying out the literary work on which he had set his heart. Some time about 1627 it was decided by Ward and Colgan that

O'Clery should return to Ireland to collect fresh materials for their use. The industry he displayed in this expedition is shown, not only in the vast mass of material in his beautiful handwriting which forms the bulk of the Irish collections at Brussels, but in a series of hagiological and historical works, of which the most lasting in its importance is the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' on which Michael O'Clery and his helpers worked uninterruptedly from January, 1632 to August, 1636, under the shade of the ruined Franciscan Monastery of Donegal, on the shores of Donegal Bay. It was during the very same period in which O'Clery was working on the Annals in Donegal that Dr. Geoffrey Keating was writing in his hiding place in the glens of Aherlow, in Munster, the legends and history known under the name of the 'Foras Feasa ar Eirinn,' a copy of which we now give ourselves the pleasure of presenting to Louvain Library. It may add to its interest to know that the earliest existing copy of this history was carried over to Louvain, probably by O'Clery himself, and is described as one of the volumes 'found in the chamber of our Father Colgan' after his death. This manuscript with many others once preserved in Louvain, is now in the collection in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. It was written before 1640, and therefore in Keating's own lifetime. O'Clery died at Louvain in 1643."

Apparently, Ireland is not to be behind in this good work, and has entered into the generous rivalry of restitution. We gather from an interesting article which appeared in the "Tuam Herald" of May 17th, that already a representative committee has been formed in Dublin, under the auspices of the four Archbishops, and the Presidents of Maynooth, Dublin, and Cork University Colleges, with some representative laymen to collect money and books for the Louvain Library, with which Ireland was for centuries so closely associated, and to which it is bound by so many close ties. There, in the cloisters of Louvain, countless Irishmen taught and were taught. The College of St. Anthony of Padua, already referred to by Miss Hull, owes its foundation to a distinguished Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conroy, "flos mundi," a familiar name by which that learned man was known by his contemporaries. He it was who established the first printing press in connection with the University, and many historical and devotional books that subsequently found their way into Ireland came from the

Louvain Press. The establishment of the school of St. Thomas Aquinas in the Superior Institute of Philosophy, was the work of Pope Leo XIII, and the first to fill that chair was he who is now the most prominent and revered churchman in Europe, the distinguished Cardinal Mercier. That great and good man who nobly stood up for the defence of his people in this war, who bravely faced the cruel arrogance and insolence of the Germans, was himself originally a student of Louvain, and afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy.

We shall be glad to receive further offers of books, or contributions in money to meet the expenses incidental to the organization of such a library. Many of the books already contributed have required attention at the hands of the binders, before they could be regarded as ready to be placed upon the shelves of the new library, we should, therefore, welcome contributions towards the fund to meet these and other contingent expenses.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts, would-be contributors are requested in the first instance, to be good enough to send lists of the books they are willing to offer to THE LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

The following contributions to the contingent fund have been received already, and are gratefully acknowledged :—

George THOMAS, Esq., J.P., Manchester	£1	1	0
The Right Reverend The Bishop of SALFORD	5	0	0
The Rev. J. C. DU BUISSON, St. Deiniols	1	0	0
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The Cork Steamship Company Limited, with direct steamers to Ghent and Antwerp, for whom Messrs. J. T. Fletcher & Company, of Manchester, act as agents, have very generously undertaken responsibility for the transportation of the new library to Louvain, and we are greatly indebted to their representative, Mr. Jebson, for the great interest he has taken in the matter, and for the ready help which he has rendered to us in making the necessary arrangements for shipment, and in other directions. In the name of the Committee, and on behalf of the University authorities, we offer to these gentlemen most cordial thanks.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

407
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VOL. 5

DECEMBER, 1919-JULY, 1920

No. 5

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS
IN MEMORIAM.

IT is with profound regret that we have to record the death of Sir George Watson Macalpine, J.P., LL.D., in the seventy-first year of his age, which took place at his residence "Broad Oak," Accrington, on Sunday, the 18th of April.

SIR
GEORGE
WATSON
MACAL-
PINE, J.P.,
LL.D.

Sir George Macalpine had been associated with the Library for nearly twenty years, first as a Representative Governor appointed in 1901 by the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, since 1912 as one of the Trustees, and since 1915 as Chairman of the Council. Throughout these years, and until within a few months of his death, he had served the institution with conspicuous ability and untiring devotion.

To those who enjoyed the privilege of Sir George's friendship, his death is deeply felt. For many months he lived in almost complete retirement, sheltered by the loving care of Lady Macalpine, his daughter, and his four sons. His life was full of beauty, of power, and of achievement, and those who were accustomed to look to him for guidance and encouragement do not yet realise the loss they have sustained, through the absence of that inspiration and sympathy upon which they could always count.

Sir George was the son of a Baptist minister, and had his religious beginning among the Scotch Baptists, whose strength of conviction, habits of piety, love of the Bible and of the Church, left their mark upon his character and life. As the years went by his sympathies broadened, and his active interest in the cause of foreign missions—the religious enterprise into which he threw his energies most abundantly—brought him into close touch with other churches, but he always spoke of those early years with profound reverence.

He was a student widely read and deeply versed in theological teaching, a business man of keen penetration, very wide experience, and unfailing courtesy, with a genius for friendship—qualities which enabled him to wield that subtle and powerful influence which was such a characteristic feature of his public life and work. His sympathies were so large as to embrace the work of the Baptist Union, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Baptist World Alliance, the recent movement towards Christian Union, that missionary co-operation which found its expression in the Edinburgh Conference, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the John Rylands Library, to mention only the most important of the institutions and causes in which he took so active an interest.

In addition to these wider interests Sir George was a tower of strength to the Baptist Church at Accrington, with which for so many years he identified himself. For upwards of forty years he was the beloved leader of large morning and afternoon Bible-classes, in preparation for which he gave many hours of study every week. The Baptist denomination delighted to do him honour: he was the Chairman of the Baptist Missionary Society, was twice elected Moderator of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, and was called to the Presidential Chair of the Baptist Union in 1910, the year in which he received his knighthood. By his death the Baptist Church loses one of its most distinguished laymen, and the missionary cause a statesman of real distinction.

It is impossible to give any adequate idea of the value of Sir George's services to the missionary enterprise of the Baptist Church, but he was for many years the guiding spirit in its councils, and the missionaries in the field could not have desired a better friend and advocate. His interest was inexhaustible as long as health enabled him to continue these activities. He also commended the enterprise to the world by his own unfaltering confidence and enthusiasm, and his evident sense of the privilege of being one of its leaders at home.

In 1911 he went to India, in company with Miss Macalpine, to see the work at close quarters, a visit which is remembered with gratitude, not only by the Indian Staff, but also by the Indian Christians connected with the mission. He also attended the Philadelphia Congress in the same year, and made a profound impression on the representatives present.

The Bible Society had a warm supporter in Sir George, and his Biblical scholarship was shown in the Harmony of the Gospels, one of the results of his work of preparation for the members of his Bible-classes, which he published in 1905, under the title : "The Days of the Son of Man".

In 1907, as Moderator of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, he delivered a memorable address on "The Arrested Progress of the Church," and in 1910, from the Chair of the Baptist Union, he delivered two addresses on Ministry : (1) "The Ministry of the Church to the Church," and (2) "The Ministry of the Church to the World," which made a deep and lasting impression, not only upon his hearers, but upon all into whose hands the addresses in their printed form fell. Also, in 1910, he gave abundant evidence of his knowledge of, and interest in the classics, by editing in collaboration with John Green Skemp : "Interpretations of Horace," by the late William Medley, a volume which abounds with annotations from his pen, revealing great critical insight and knowledge of the subject.

Indeed, Sir George was a man of very varied gifts, who gave himself and his means to public service with a single eye to the public good. He never sought honour for himself, but in any company his great and shining qualities inevitably gave him the position of leader.

The Governors of the Library, and the writer mourn his loss, not only as a colleague and counsellor of outstanding administrative ability, who had rendered to the Library very conspicuous service, and whose wise counsel and kindly spirit will be greatly missed, but also as one, who by his qualities of heart, had won their highest personal esteem and affection.

By the death of Mr. William Carnelley, which took place in October last, at the advanced age of ninety-eight years, the Library loses the senior member of its governing body. Mr. Carnelley was one of the original members of the Board of Trustees, and one of the first Governors of the Library, having been appointed to those offices by Mr. Rylands, to whom he had rendered most valuable assistance in connection with the organisation of the institution, from the time of its inception, and in the erection of the buildings. He also occupied the position of Vice-Chairman of the Council for a period of fifteen years, although, owing to the failure of

WILLIAM
CARNEL-
LEY.

his strength, he had not often been seen at the meetings of the Council during recent years.

The Library has sustained still another serious loss through the death of the Right Hon. Lord Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett, P.C., who was also one of the original members of the Board of Trustees, appointed by the Founder of the Trust, in which he took a great interest.

LORD
COZENS-
HARDY.

Lord Cozens-Hardy was a staunch Liberal, Gladstonian, and Nonconformist. He sat in Parliament for North Norfolk, from 1886 until his appointment as Judge of the High Court in 1899. In 1907 he was made Master of the Rolls. In 1914 he was raised to the Peerage, and in 1918 he resigned the Mastership of the Rolls. He was a faithful adherent of the Congregational Church, and his daughter married the late Rev. C. Silvester Horne, who was also an honoured Trustee of the Library.

Sir Henry Miers, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S., the Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University, has been appointed, by the Governors, Chairman of the Council, in succession to the late Sir George Macalpine; and Professor A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., has been elected Vice-Chairman. Mr. J. W. Marsden, J.P., of Blackburn, has been appointed a Representative Governor, by the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, in succession to the late Sir George Macalpine.

CHANGES
IN THE
PERSON-
NEL OF
THE COUN-
CIL OF THE
LIBRARY.

Three of the Governors of the Library have received well merited distinctions during the last few months, and we take this opportunity of offering to them our warmest congratulations. Professor A. S. Peake, M.A. (Oxon.), D.D. (Aberdeen), has had the Degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him, by his "Alma Mater," the University of Oxford; The Rev. J. H. Roberts, M.A., B.D., who succeeded the Rev. Dr. Alexander Maclaren in the pastorate of Union Chapel, Manchester, has had the Degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by the University of St. Andrews; and the Rev. George Jackson, B.A., of Didsbury College, has had the Degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by the University of Aberdeen.

The present year will mark an epoch in the history of the Library, for it was on the 6th of October, 1899, that it was formally dedicated

to public use. It is true that it was not found possible to admit readers or the public until the 1st of January following, yet the formal inauguration of the institution took place on the date mentioned, and during the twenty-one years that have since elapsed, there has been a steady progression both in efficiency and influence.

It is to be regretted that Mrs. Rylands did not live to see the present fruition of her scheme, which was to dedicate to the memory of her late husband, John Rylands, an institution devoted to the encouragement of learning, placed in the very heart of the city which had been the scene of his varied activities and triumphs.

The stock of books with which the Library opened, numbering about 70,000 volumes, has now grown to upwards of a quarter of a million, not the least important feature of which are the 10,000 manuscripts which have been added from time to time to the original stock.

Not only in numbers has the collection grown, but also in importance, for by the acquisition of many noteworthy collections, including the Crawford Manuscripts, there have been added to its shelves many world-famed literary treasures, which have been instrumental in attracting to the Library scholars from all parts of the world.

In the first year of the Library's activity readers were comparatively few in number, although the public took advantage of the opportunities afforded them on the open afternoons and evenings, by coming in crowds to inspect the building, and the exhibition which had been arranged specially for their benefit, with the object of revealing to them something of the scope and richness of the collection.

To-day, during term time especially, it is difficult to find a vacant seat in the building, and the most gratifying feature of the development is that the readers, almost without exception, are engaged on some special piece of original research.

The development of the resources of the Library is being continued along lines which hitherto have been productive of such excellent results, and in this respect we should like to renew our acknowledgments of the valuable assistance which we have received from readers, who often in the course of their investigations have been able to call attention to the Library's lack of important authorities in their special line of research.

THE LIB-
RARY AT-
TAINS ITS
MAJORITY.

A YEAR'S
ACCES-
SIONS.

We welcome these helpful suggestions, which will always receive prompt and sympathetic attention.

The additions to the Library during the past year, by purchase and by gift, number 6985 volumes, of which 3532 were acquired by purchase, and 3453 by gift.

The acquisitions by purchase include a number of rare and interesting items, which add to the strength of several departments in which the Library is already admittedly rich, amongst which the following manuscripts may be mentioned : An interesting collection of briefs, patents, wills, marriage contracts, deeds of gift, and other documents relating to the Medici family, from the Medici archives ; a number of charters and court rolls, including a large collection of court and manor rolls, and other documents relating to, and comprising practically the history of the Manor of West Horsley ; the original collections of Sir John and Sir Henry Savile for the "History of Yorkshire," in two large folio volumes ; a wardrobe book of Edward II ; a treasury account book of Charles VI of France ; a fifteenth century illuminated chronicle in roll form ; a fourteenth century chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy and Kings of England ; two fifteenth century manuscripts of Richard Rolle of Hampole ; a small fifteenth century manuscript of the Latin Vulgate Bible on uterine vellum ; a palimpsest of an Icelandic manuscript of Laws promulgated in Iceland from 1281 to 1541 ; and a considerable collection of manuscript and printed material relating to Warren Hastings, and the East India Company, to mention only a few of the principal items, to serve as an indication of the character of the accessions which are constantly being made.

The list of donors, which contains 114 names, furnishes fresh proof of the sustained practical interest which is evinced on all sides in the work of the institution. Two gifts call for special mention. The first is a collection of 600 Sumerian Tablets, probably from Umma, presented by Mrs. Bedale in memory of her late husband, the Rev. C. L. Bedale, whose death, which occurred in March, 1919, inflicted such a serious loss on Manchester. Mr. Bedale was a brilliant student of the late Professor Hogg, whom he succeeded as Lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Manchester, and was one of the small and, unfortunately, diminishing group of scholars, who, in recent years, have been seeking to

GIFTS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

stimulate interest in a field of research which hitherto has been somewhat neglected by the universities of this country. The second is a collection of 2122 volumes and pamphlets of propagandist war literature, presented by the Ministry of Information of the British Foreign Office. To students of the next generation this collection, a large section of which consists of pamphlets and broadsides not readily accessible in the regular channels of supply, will furnish valuable material for research in the history of the Great War.

The following is a list of Donors to whom, in the name of the Governors, we desire to renew our grateful thanks for their generous gifts to the Library during the year 1919.

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Mexico. National University.
 Michigan, University of.
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.
 Minnesota University.
 Newcastle Public Library.
 New York Public Library.
 Oxford. Bodleian Library.
 Paris. Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises.
 Saint Andrews University.
 South Australia Museum.
 Stockholm. Royal Library.
 Toronto. Public Library.
 Upsala University.
 Washington. Library of Congress.
 Washington. Smithsonian Institution.
 Washington University.
 Wigan Public Library.

We are glad to be able to announce the publication of the eagerly awaited second volume of the "Odes and Psalms of Solomon," which has been edited for the Governors of the library, by Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. Alphonse Mingana. This concluding volume consists of a new translation of the "Odes" in English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation, an exhaustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary to the text. The price of the volume is one guinea. Of the first volume, which consists of a collotype facsimile of the exact size of the original Syriac manuscript, now in the possession of the John Rylands Library, accompanied by a retranscribed text with an attached critical apparatus, copies may still be obtained at the price of half a guinea from the Manchester University Press, and from Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.

We congratulate Dr. Harris and his co-editor upon the completion

of this monumental piece of work, upon which they have expended so much laborious research during the last three years.

It will interest readers to learn that Sir Henry Mainwaring, Bart., late of Peover Hall, Cheshire, has recently deposited in the Library, on loan for an indefinite period, for the use of students, his interesting collection of manuscripts, which includes many early charters and other material relating to the county of Cheshire. The Mainwaring family had been seated at Peover ever since the Conquest, and had the good fortune to possess state papers, diaries, household books, and literary papers of the seventeenth century, besides a vast quantity of deeds and evidences relating to their lands, which cannot fail to be of interest to students of the history of the period to which they belong. Many of the Peover deeds are of the time of Edward III, or earlier, and about 500 of them are older than the reign of Henry VIII; the earliest are some charters granted in the twelfth century by the Earls of Chester. The collection was briefly described in the Historical MSS. Commission, 10th Report, Appendix, part 4, pp. 199-210, and a temporary manuscript catalogue, prepared by Mr. J. H. Jeayes, in 1895, is deposited in the Library with the collection. For the fuller information of those who may be interested in the subject, we hope to publish in the next issue of the BULLETIN a hand-list of this important collection of documents.

THE MAIN-
WARING
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

Evidence of the continued interest in the scheme for rendering help to the University of Louvain in the formation of their new library, is to be found in the new list of contributors which is printed elsewhere in the pages of this number. Since the publication of the previous list, which was issued in December last, we have received upwards of 10,000 volumes, and new offers of help are still reaching us almost daily. The total number of volumes which we have actually received and registered, approaches 40,000, and several consignments are in course of transit to us, notably a gift of 1200 volumes from the University of Toronto. We have now very little hesitation in expressing the hope that the British contribution will reach a grand total of at least 50,000 volumes.

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
RECON-
STRUC-
TION.

The most gratifying feature of the present report is that we are able to announce that already 26,336 volumes of the new Library

have been transferred to their temporary home in Louvain, where they have been placed upon the shelves prepared for their reception, for the use of the staff and students of the repatriated University.

Several letters of grateful appreciation have been received from the Rector of the University (Monsignor Ladeuze), from Cardinal Mercier, and also from Monsieur Stainier, the Administrateur of the Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, who is responsible for the direction of the reconstruction of the new Library, in which they refer in terms of undisguised delight to the character of the works which we have, with the assistance of many generous collaborators, conspired to get together.

Contributions of books, or of money to meet the contingent expenses, may still be sent to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In the case of books we would ask prospective donors to be good enough, in the first instance, to submit a list of their proposed gifts, so as to obviate unnecessary duplication.

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.¹

By C. H. HERFORD, M.A., Litt.D.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

MAZZINI, the most prophetic figure of the nineteenth century, declared in a famous passage his confidence in the European mission of his country. "The Third Italy," destined to be born of the long agony of the struggle with Austria without and the papacy within, was not merely to be a nation, restored to unity and independence; it was to intervene as an original voice in the complex harmony of the European nationalities, contributing of its own inborn genius something which no other could contribute. "We believe devoutly that Italy has not exhausted her life in the world. She is called to introduce yet new elements in the progressive development of humanity, and to live with a third life. It is for us to begin it." Were Mazzini to return to life to-day, how far would he regard his prophecy as fulfilled? Beyond question his lofty idealism would receive some severe shocks. He would find a Third Italy indeed, exulting in its national unity and in its rank and freedom as a great Power, but not more capable than the other nations of evolving, as Mazzini would have had it, the "large internationalism" which is not the antithesis of patriotism, but its indispensable completion and crown; not less prone than they to interpret national glory in terms of territory, and national greatness in terms of wealth.

Yet he would have found, also, in the Third Italy, a real renaissance, a genuine rebirth of genius and power, and this in ways so individual as to justify in a rare degree the anticipation that Italy would give something vitally her own to the new Europe. Open any serious Italian book to-day, and you will note a kind of intellectual concen-

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 8 January, 1919.

tration, a girding up of the loins of speech and thought, in striking contrast with the loose-tongued volubility of most Italian writing, in verse or prose, of the mid-nineteenth century. You note also a new tone of critical mastery and conscious equality. Italy in the last century was still the "woman-people," the pathetic beauty, languid still after the gentle torpor of two centuries, and whose intellectual life with some brilliant isolated exceptions, faintly reflected that of the more masculine nations north of the Alps. To-day she has not only critically mastered all that Europe has to give, she sits in judgment upon us, and the judgment she pronounces has again and again been one of those which in disposing of old difficulties opens new ways. Benedetto Croce, who in his critical review, the *Critica*, is bringing intellectual Europe to his reader's doors, has in his original philosophic work subjected the philosophic systems of Europe to a revision, and has succeeded in a great measure to their authority.¹ A thinker less known, even to cultivated Italians, Aliotta, has surveyed in a book of extraordinary penetration and philosophic power, the "idealistic reaction against science" in the nineteenth century. And when we look to creative literature, we find in this Third Italy, together with a profusion of those fungoid growths of which the modern age has in the West been everywhere prolific, two or three poets, at least, of great, even dazzling, genius, for whom no predecessor, in Italy or elsewhere, had in any important sense prepared the way. One of these, after pouring forth poems, dramas, novels, in prodigal abundance for forty years, became the most vociferous, and possibly the most potent, of the forces that drove Italy into the war, and was until lately the idol of the whole Italian race. Even to-day, after the sorry collapse of his adventure, the man in whom Europe, irritated and impatient, sees only a sort of Harlequin-Garibaldi, impudent where his predecessor was sublime, and florid where he was laconic, is still, for multitudes of his countrymen, the hero-poet who took the banner of *Italianità* from the failing or treacherous hands of diplomats and statesmen, and defended it against the enemy without and the enemy within, with the tenacity of maturity and the ardour of youth. Certainly, one who is beyond all rivalry the most adored

¹ Much of this paragraph is repeated in substance from an article, by the writer, on "The Higher Mind of Italy," in the *Manchester Guardian*, 15 March, 1920.

poet, in any country, of our time, who has fought for Italy with tongue and pen and risked his life in her service, and whose personality might be called a brilliant impressionist sketch of the talents and failings of the Italian character, reproducing some in heightened but veracious illuminations, others in glaring caricature or paradoxical distortion—such a man, as a national no less than as a literary force, claims and deserves close study.

Before entering, however, upon the detail of his life and work, let me assist our imagination of Gabriele d'Annunzio by quoting from the vivid description given by Mr. James Bone of a meeting with him at Venice in the summer of 1918. The poet, fifty-six years old, was then at the height of his renown; Fiume was then unthought of. His great exploit of flying over Vienna and dropping leaflets inviting her in aureate imagery to make peace, was on every tongue. The gondoliers took off their hats as they passed his house on the Grand Canal, and he had to register all his letters to prevent their being abstracted as souvenirs. Mr. Bone was talking with the airmen at an aerodrome on one of the islands in the lagoons there :—

“Conversation died instantly as an airman, very different from the others, came hurrying towards us—a rather small, very quick, clean-cut figure, wearing large smoked glasses and white gloves with the wrists turned down. . . . The nose was rather prominent, complexion not dark but marked a little, the whole profile very clear, making one think not of a Renaissance Italian but of a type more antique, an impression accentuated by his rather large, beautifully shaped ear, very close to the head. The body denied the age that was told in the face, for all its firmness. One's first impression was of a personality of extraordinary swiftness and spirit still at full pressure, remorselessly pursuing its course ‘in hours of insight willed’. . . . The whole surface of d'Annunzio's personality suggested a rich, hard fineness, like those unpolished marbles in old Italian churches that gleam delicately near the base where the worshippers have touched them, but above rise cold and white as from the matrix. . . . There was something of the man of fashion in the way he wore his gloves, and in his gestures, but nothing one could see of the national idol aware of itself.”¹

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 12 September, 1918.

I.

The soldier-poet-man-of-fashion who wore his fifty-six years thus lightly, was born, in 1862, at Pescara, the chief—almost only—town of the Abruzzi, then one of the wildest and rudest provinces of Italy. Its valleys, descending from the eastern heights of the Apennines to the Adriatic, were inhabited by an almost purely peasant population—a hardy, vigorous race, tenacious of their primitive customs, and little accessible to cultural influences. The Church enjoyed their fanatical devotion, but only at the price of tacitly accepting many immemorial pagan usages disguised by an unusually transparent veil of Catholic ritual; while the Law occasionally found it expedient to leave a convicted murderer (as in the *Figlia di Iorio*) to be executed by an angry multitude according to the savage methods their tradition prescribed. The little haven of Pescara—one of the few on Italy's featureless Adriatic coast—was the centre of a coasting traffic with the yet wilder Dalmatian seaboard, a traffic which like all ancient sea-faring, pursued its economic aims in an atmosphere of superstitious observance, mystical, picturesque, and sometimes cruel. In the poetic autobiography ("The Soul's Journey") which occupies the first *Laude* (1903), d'Annunzio sketches vividly his boyhood's home in this Abruzzan country overlooking the sea. Of the persons who composed this home, of family affections, we have only momentary retrospective glimpses. We hear of the father, long dead, when he wrote, from whom he derived his iron-tempered muscles; and of the mother, who gave him his insatiable ardour of will and desire. The three sisters seem to have been like him; the face of the second sister resembled his own "mirrored in a clear fountain at dawn". All that stood between them, he says, was their innocence and his passion. There was, too, an old nurse, to whom in her beautiful old age, when she had retired to a mountain hamlet, the poet addressed some tenderly beautiful stanzas, contrasting his own stormy career with her idyllic peace as she "spins the wool of her own flocks while the oil holds out".¹

But of household drama, such as dominates the experience of most children, little seems to have existed for this child. Certainly it vanishes completely, in the retrospect of the man of forty, beside the drama enacted with prodigious intensity of colour, animation, and

¹ Dedication of *Il Poema Paradisiaco* (1892).

passion, by his imperious senses. The contrast is here acute between d'Annunzio and his co-heir of the Carduccian tradition, Pascoli, whose poignant memories of childhood, instead of being effaced by the energy of his sense-life, permeate it through and through, giving a "deep autumnal tone" to almost every line he wrote. He spoke in later life of his "profound sensuality" as a gift which had brought him poetic discoveries denied to colder men, and this is no doubt true if by "sensuality" we understand, as we ought, that d'Annunzio is prodigally endowed with all the senses, that eye and ear feast on the glory and the music of the world and live in its teeming life, that his lithe body thrills with the zest of motion, that imagery is the material of his thinking and the stuff of his speech; and that the passion of sex, so acutely and perilously developed in him, is just one element in this prodigal endowment of his entire sense-organism, which is a main source of the artistic splendour of his work. In the early pages of the *Viaggio* we see the young boy drinking in with a kind of intoxication the simple sights and sounds of the farm—the rhythmic fall of the flails on the threshing-floor, the pouring of the whey from the churn, the whirr of the spool in the loom, the scampering of wild ponies with streaming manes over the hillside, or again, out at sea, the gorgeous scarlet or gold sails scudding before the wind, each with its symbolic sign. Even the inanimate world became for his transfiguring senses alive; "it was a lying voice," he cries, "that declared that Pan is dead". The mere contrasts of things, the individual self-assertion shown by a tree, for instance, in not being a rock, produced in him an excitement analogous to that which made Rupert Brooke, in his own words, "a lover" of all kinds of common things for being just definitely and unmistakably what they were. So that a conception apparently so thin and abstract as "difference" can assume for him the shape and potency of an alluring divinity: "Diversity," he cries, "the siren of the world! I am he who love thee!"

And then, with adolescence, came the passion of sex; for d'Annunzio no shy and gradual discovery, but a veritable explosion, before which all obstacles, moral and material, vanished into air. He tells it with the frankness of a child of the South, and the self-conscious importance of an egoist for whom the events of his own physical history could only be fitly described in terms of epic poetry, with its contending nationalities and ruined or triumphant kings. "O flesh!" he

cries, "I gave myself up to thee, as a young beardless king gives himself up to the warrior maid who advances in arms, terrible and beautiful. She advances victorious, and the people receive her with rejoicing. Astonishment strikes the gentle king, and his hope laughs at his fear."¹ And from the first this new passion allies itself with the rest of his sense-organism, irradiating eye and ear and imagination, "giving to every power a double power," as Biron says in *Love's Labour's Lost*, "Thou wast sometimes as the grape pressed by fiery feet, O flesh, sometimes as snow printed with bleeding traces; I seemed to feel in thee the winding of trodden roots, and to hear the far-off grinding of the axe upon the whetstone". The young erotic was already growing towards that observant psychologist of eroticism who pervades so many gorgeous but repulsive pages of his novels.

He was also growing, more slowly and as yet invisibly, to other and more notable things. In the first published poems of the boy of eighteen, and the second, *Canto Novo*, two years later, there is not much more than the reflexion of this intense and pervading "sensuality" (in the large meaning above indicated), in a speech moulded upon the diction and rhythms of Carducci. The great master, then at the height of his fame, had still to do much of his most splendid work. D'Annunzio, who never ceased to revere him, was to become his principal inheritor; but the heir added so much of his own to the bequest that he can only at the outset be regarded as his disciple. The elder poet's influence was in any case entirely salutary. The classical severity and nobility of style which distinguished the *Rime Nove* and the *Odi Bârbare* from the florid and facile romantic verse of the day, contributed to temper the dangerous luxuriance of d'Annunzio, and to evoke the powers of self-discipline and tenacious will which lay within; while Carducci's exultation in radiance and clarity, his noon-day view of life, his symbolic sun-worship and his hatred of all twilight obscurantism and moonlight nebulosity, equally enforced the more virile strain in d'Annunzio, the "stalk of carle's hemp" which, far more truly than in Burns, underlay the voluptuous senses.

This background of harder and tougher nature was already manifested when d'Annunzio, a few years later, turned to tell in prose some stories

¹ *Laus Vitæ*, 232 f.

of his native province. There is little in the *Novelle di Pescara* of love, less of luxury or refinement ; we see the Abruzzan village folk at feud, fanatical and ferocious, the women cheering on the men, the Church in its most ceremonial robes blandly but helplessly looking on. "The Idolaters" tells how the men of a certain village plan to set the bronze statue of the saint upon the church altar of another neighbouring village. They assemble at night and march through the darkness with the image on a cart. In the other village the men await them in force, and a savage battle takes place in the church, ending in the rout of the assailants with much slaughter, and the ignominious mutilation of the image of their patron saint. And all this grim matter is told in a style admirably strong and terse, bold and sharp in outline, direct and impersonal in statement, untouched by either delicate feeling or weak sentimentality. D'Annunzio's sensuality asserts itself still, as always ; but it appears here as a Rubens-like joy in intense impressions ; now a copper-coloured storm sky, now a splash of blood, betrays his passion for the crude effects of flame and scarlet, most often where they signify death or ruin. He imagines voluptuously as always, but his voluptuousness here feeds not in the lust of the flesh, but in the lust of wounds and death. When he describes the fighting in the church, he spares you as little as Homer ; you are not told merely that a man was stabbed, you are made to see the blade shear away the flesh from the bone. His men are drawn with the same hard, pungent stroke, and a visible relish for scars, gnarled features, frayed dress, and all the maimings and deformities, due not to weakness or decay, but to battles recent or long ago, the blows and buffets received in the tug with fortune. There is little either of sybarite effeminacy in the painting of old Giacobbe, for instance, the leader of the insurgents, a tall, bony man, with bald crown and long red hairs on nape and temples, two front teeth wanting, which gives him a look of senile ferocity, a pointed chin covered with bristles, and so forth.

D'Annunzio was intrinsically of the Abruzzan race ; the tough hardy fibre of the peasant folk was his, and the deep inborn attachment to his blood and kin was to produce, twenty years later, his greatest work, as a like attachment lifted Mr. Shaw, almost at the same moment, to the rare heights of *John Bull's Other Island*. But much had to happen to the young provincial before he could thus discover to the full the poetry of his province.

II.

In the early eighties d'Annunzio had come to Rome. The little circle of young Carduccians in the capital welcomed the poet's brilliant disciple, who was soon to outdistance them all in sheer splendour of literary gift. More important, however, than any literary or personal influence—for his hard encasing shell of egoism made him extraordinarily immune to the intrusion either of alien genius or of friendship or love—was the deep impression made upon the young Abruzzan by the splendour, the art glories, and above all the historic import of Rome. "The Abruzzi gave d'Annunzio the sense of *race*," says an excellent critic, "Rome gave him the sense of *history*." The magical effect of Rome had hitherto been rendered most vividly in the poetry of other peoples, to whom it was a revelation, or a fulfilment of long aspiration, or the "city of their soul," in Goethe's *Roman Elegies*, *Childe Harold*, or the *Adonais*. How overwhelming to an imaginative Italian, the sight and living presence of Rome could be, may be judged from the magnificent *Ode* of Carducci. The Englishman who is thrilled as he stands in the Forum, or by the mossy bastions of our own Roman wall, may faintly apprehend the temper of a citizen of the "Third Italy" who felt his capital, newly won from the Popes, to be once more in living continuity with the city of Cæsar. Both the nobility and the extravagance of Italian national feeling have their root in this sense of continuity with antique Rome, and this is to be remembered in estimating the perfervid *Italianità* of d'Annunzio, the most striking example both of this sublime idealism and of the childish extravagance it is able to inspire.

The work of the next years abounded in evidence of the spell which Rome had laid upon his sensuous imagination. He poured forth novels and poetry, charged with an oppressive opulence of epicurean and erotic detail, but saved those by the clear-cut beauty of the prose, the other by the strokes of bold and splendid imagination.

Andrea Sperelli in *Il Piacère* (1889) and Tullio Hermil in *L'Innocente* (1892), are virtuosos in æsthetic as well as in erotic luxury, and the two allied varieties of hedonism reflect and enforce one another. Sperelli is artist and connoisseur, of unlimited resources and opportunities, and neither he nor his mistress could think love tolerable in chambers not hung with precious tapestry and adorned with

sculptured gold and silver vessels, the gift of queens or cardinals of the splendour-loving Renaissance. No doubt there is irony in the picture too; the native stamina in d'Annunzio resists complete assimilation to the corrupt aspects of the luxury he describes, and he feels keenly the contrast between the riotous profusion of the "new rich" of the new Rome and the heroism and hardships of the men of the *Risorgimento* who had won it.

The poetry of this period is less repellent because its substance, though not definitely larger or deeper, is sustained and penetrated by the magic of a wonderfully winged and musical speech. His *Elegie Romane* (1892)—a rare case of his emulating another poet—are inferior in intellectual force to Goethe's, which yet have as lyrics an almost pedestrian air in comparison with the exquisite dance of the Italian rhythms. The sonnets of the *Isottèo* and *Chimera* (1885-8) show a concentration rare in the later history of the Italian sonnet. And any reader who thinks d'Annunzio incapable of writing of love without offence may be invited to try the charming idyll of Isaotta Guttadauro. To be sure the scenery and circumstances are sumptuous and opulent as usual. The simple life and homely persons traditional in idyll are remote; but poetry did not absolutely fly from Tennyson's touch when he turned from his Miller's and Gardener's daughters to put Maud in a Hall; and neither does she retire from d'Annunzio's Isaotta, in her noble mansion. The lover stands at sunrise in the "high hall garden" under her window and summons her in a joyous morning song to come forth. It is late autumn, the house is silent, but the peacocks perched on the orange trees hail the morning in their raucous tones. The situation is that of Herrick's May morning song to Corinna, but though Herrick loved jewels and fine dresses not a little, the contrast is piquant between the country simplicity of these Devonshire maids and men, and the aristocratic luxury of Isaotta. "Come, my Corinna, come! Wash, dress, be brief in praying"—bids Herrick; but no such summary toilette will serve the Italian. Isaotta will rise from her brocaded bed and her white limbs will gleam in a marble bath, and her maid pours amber-scented water on them, while the woven figures of the story of Omphale look on from the walls. At length Isaotta comes out on to her vine-wreathed balcony and playfully greets *messèr cantore* below. She is secretly ready, we see, to surrender, but makes a show of standing out for terms. They will wander

through the autumnal vineyards, and if they find a single cluster still hanging on the poles, "I will yield to your desire, and you shall be my lord". So they set out in the November morning. The vineyards, lately so loud with vintage merriment and song, are now deserted and still. Not a cluster is to be seen. She archly mocks him; "What, has subtle Love no power to give you eyes?" They meet peasant women going to their work, and one of them asks him, "What seekest thou, fair sir?" And he replies: "I seek a treasure". A flight of birds rises suddenly across their path with joyous cries; they take it as a sign, and gaze at each other, pale and silent. Then unexpectedly he sees before him a vineyard flaming in full array of purple and gold; and a flock of birds making a chorus in its midst. "O lady Isaotta, here is life!" I cried to her with rapt soul; and the chorus of songsters cried over our heads. I drew her to the spot, and she came as swift as I, for I held her firmly by the hand. Rosy was the face she turned away from me, but fair as Blanchemain's when she took the kiss of Lancelot, her sovran lover, in the forest. "O Lady, I keep my pact; for you I pluck the fatal untouched cluster. Then she gave me the kiss divine."

III.

The last word of the Isaotta idyll—*souvrhumano*—rendered above "divine," was an early symptom of a development of formidable significance in the prose and poetry of d'Annunzio during the next twenty years. The "Superman" had not yet been discovered when he was a boy, but the spirit to which *souvrumanità* appeals had from the first run in his blood. His passion for sensation, for strong effects, for energy, even for ferocity and cruelty, was the concomitant of a genius that strove to shatter obstacles, to bend others to its will, and reshape its experience, as the opposite genius of Pascoli submissively accepted experience, hearing in all its vicissitudes reverberations of the mournful memories in which his soul was steeped. When d'Annunzio accordingly, in the early nineties, discovered the work of Nietzsche, he experienced that liberation which comes to every man who meets with a coherent exposition of the meaning of his own blind impulses, and a great new word for his confused and inarticulate aims. In Nietzsche he found a mind more congenial to him perhaps than any other he had known, more even

than that of his master Carducci, but, unlike his, congenial mainly to what was most perilous and ill-omened in himself. He loftily admitted the German his equal, a great concession, and when Nietzsche died, in 1900, wrote a noble dirge "to the memory of a destroyer," of the *Bàrbaro enorme* "who lifted up again the serene gods of Hellas on to the vast gates of the Future".

When d'Annunzio wrote these words the Hellenic enthusiasms nourished by his acute sense of beauty in a nature utterly wanting in the Hellenic poise, had won, partly through Nietzsche's influence, an ascendancy over his imaginations which made it natural for him to render the Superman in Hellenic terms. The serene gods of Hellas symbolised for him the calmness of absolute mastery, of complete conquests, all enemies trampled under foot or flung to the eternal torments of Erebus. This mood detached him wholly from Shelley and Byron, and the young Goethe, who had gloried in Prometheus, the spirit of man struggling against supreme deity, baffled and finally overthrowing him; he now, like the riper Goethe, adores the serenity of Olympus. "O Zeus, Father of Serene Day, how much fairer than the chained and howling Iapetid seemed in thy eyes the silent mountain and its vast buttresses fresh with invisible springs." And besides Prometheus, Zeus has another enemy, Christ—the foe of beauty, and lord of the herd of slaves with their slave-morality of pity and submission. "O Zeus, he cries, I invoke thee, awaken and bring on the Morrow! Make the fire of heaven thy ploughshare to plough the Night! Thou only canst purify Earth from its piled-up filth."

We are not to look in all this for even so much of definite ethical or philosophic content as we find in Nietzsche. If Nietzsche was a poet imagining in philosophic terms rather than a philosopher, d'Annunzio was hardly capable of abstract thought at all. On the other hand, Nietzsche could still less rival d'Annunzio in creative faculty, and the series of d'Annunzian characters inspired or touched by the spirit of Nietzschean *souvrumanità* may be set against the richer intellectual and spiritual substance of *Zarathustra*. No doubt this influence was not wholly salutary; Nietzsche's heady draught intoxicated his brain with visions of colossal and ruthless power, begetting images of supermen and superwomen magnificent in stature and equipment, in the glory of their flame-like hair, and the crystalline beauty of their speech, but wholly unreal and impossible. Neverthe-

less, there were fortunate moments when the vision of power, constrained by a human and moving story to work within the limits of humanity, became a source not of unreal extravagance, but of heroic and sublime truth. And these moments, though few, atoned for much splendid futility.

The first traces of the "Superman's ideal appear in *Le Vèrgini delle Rocce* (1896).¹ The three maidens, princesses, are all in different fashions athirst for the infinite. Massimilla longs to surrender herself in absolute devotion ; Anatolia is conscious of boundless creative power ; she would fain become the propagator of an ideal race ; she knows that of her substance a Superman may be born. Violante's infinity is the poet's power of dreaming himself king of infinite space ; in dream she has lived a thousand magnificent lives, moving through all dominations as securely as one treading a well-known path. In the most diverse things she has discovered secret analogies with her own form, and poets have seen in her the mystery of Beauty revealed in mortal flesh after secular ages, across the imperfections of innumerable descendants.

But vague aspirations such as these merely disclosed the temperament to which *souvrumanità* appeals. For Nietzsche this ideal was not to be dreamed of, but to be fought for, by the ruthless suppression of all the "human" affections and weaknesses, within and without, that stood in its way. To overcome humanity was the indispensable step to the coming of the Superman. For the Italian, with his "vast sensuality," his prodigal endowment of very "human" lusts, this rigorous doctrine was not, it may well be thought, altogether made, any more than the kindred saying of Goethe that self-limitation is the secret of mastery, was one that he could readily assimilate. Yet there was something in him, as we have seen, to which the call to self-making appealed, even if it had not been the price of power. The tenacious fibre of the Abruzzan showed itself in a capacity for hardy even ascetic life amazing to those who know only the hothouse atmosphere of his novels. Some of his most sumptuous prose and verse was poured forth in the absolute seclusion of monastic cells, or in wild peasant houses far from civilization ; and only the most iron industry could have

¹ Gargiullo, *Gabriele d'Annunzio* (1912), to whose account of the poet's *souvrumanità*, as well as of the grouping of his work in general, the present essay is indebted for much suggestion.

achieved the enormous value of his work. Hence he can put into the mouth of Claudio Cantelmo, in the *Vergini*, these evidently autobiographic words : "after subduing the tumults of youth, I examined whether perchance . . . my will could, by choice and exclusion, extract a new and seemly work of its own from the elements which life had stored up within me".

There is a glimpse here of a finer psychological and a deeper ethical insight than we often find in d'Annunzio, and it might have led a man of richer spiritual capacity to a loftier poetry than he was ever to produce. But on the whole the clue thus hinted was not followed up, and the tough nerve which might have nourished the powerful controlling will of a supreme artist, often served only to sustain those enormities of the ferocious and the grandiose which make dramas like *Gloria* and *La Nave* mere examples of the pathology of genius.

In the meantime, novels and poems and dramas poured forth. The prolific later nineties saw the famous novel *Fuoco* (1900), a picture of Venetian splendour as gorgeous as that of Rome in *Piacère*, but touched with the new joy in power ; and the dramas *Sogno d'un Mattino di Primavera* (1897), *Gioconda*, and *Città Morta* (1898). The last named, one of the most original tragedies of our time, may be counted among the examples of work in which the audacities of d'Annunzio's *souvranità* are justified. The fine and the morbid strains in him, passion for life, Hellenism, enthusiasm, perverse erotics, cross and mingle in its texture, but from them is somehow evolved an action that reproduces as nearly as a modern dramatist may the horror excited in ancient spectators by the doom of the House of Atreus. Nothing indeed could be less Greek than the structure and persons of the play. Leonardo, a young archæologist, is excavating in the ruins of Mycenæ. With him are his sister, Beata Maria, and their friends Alessandro and Anna his wife, a cluster of human flowers, full of living charm and sap, transplanted into the "dead city". But the dead city is not merely dead ; it is mysteriously fraught with the power of the vanished past to control and dominate the present and the future. Its mouldering ruins are the arena of a struggle between Death and Life, in which death triumphs and life receives the mortal blow. Leonardo, obsessed with the Oresteia, is haunted at night by visions of terrific blood-stained figures, and has no thoughts by day but of penetrating the secrets of their tombs. Alessandro, full of the joy

of life, seeks to detach him from these preoccupations. "I hoped he would have come with me and gathered flowers with those fingers of his which know nothing but stones and dust," and he is drawn to Beata Maria, herself the very genius of glowing youth, "the one live thing, says her friend Anna, in this place, where all is dead and burnt . . . it is incredible what force of life is in her . . . if she were not, none of us could live here, we should all die of thirst". "When Beata Maria speaks, he who hears forgets his pain, and believes that life can still be sweet." She herself is devoted to the brother whose passion seems to estrange him so far from what she loves. She shares his Hellenic ardour, and innocently recites Cassandra's prophecy in the *Agamemnon*, with Cassandra's wreath on her golden locks, of "an evil, intolerable to the nearest kin, and irreparable, preparing in this house". Anna, struck with mysterious fear, stops her; but the ominous words have been spoken, and foreshadow a real doom. Beata Maria, the unconscious Cassandra, will suffer Cassandra's fate. The indestructible virus of the dead city will poison the glory of youth. The incestuous passion which desolated the House of Atreus is not extinguished in the crumbling dust of their tombs. A horrible infection seizes Leonardo. He struggles vainly with an impure passion for his sister. In only one way can his love be purified, a way grievous for him, and yet more grievous for her. She must die; and he slays her among the tombs of the "dead city" which has thus again laid upon the living its mortal hand.

The conclusion outrages our feelings, and betrays d'Annunzio's glaring deficiency in sympathetic power. Whatever pity we feel for Leonardo in his miserable plight is dispelled by his cynical purchase of the purity of his own emotions at the price of his innocent sister's death. Here, as in other cases, d'Annunzio's fundamental want of passion, and the strain of hard egoism which pervaded the movements of his brilliant mind, gravely injured his attempts in tragic poetry. Death was doubtless the only solution; but it must be another death—one that would have saved the "purity" of Leonardo's emotions by ending them altogether.

IV.

Yet d'Annunzio, if an egoist, was an egoist of imagination, and liable as such to irrational intrusions of sympathy which, without

diminishing the vehemence of his egoism, enlarged its scope and enriched its ethical substance. Neither family affections nor friendship had touched his imagination in this way ; but the discovery of Rome had taught him something of the pride of citizenship, and more than the nascent pride of nationality. But in the last year of the century he underwent an experience which turned this nascent emotion into a passion, and the poet himself into a prophet and preacher, in its service, an "announcer" as he was fond of saying, of the cause and creed of *Italianità*.

He had as yet seen nothing of Europe beyond the Alps. In 1900 he made an extensive tour, but in no tourist spirit. An Italian had no need to go abroad for beauty of nature or of art, and d'Annunzio's keen eyes were turned in quite other directions—to the great nations, with their vast resources and their high ambitions ; and he measured their several capacities for success in the conflict which he, among the first, saw to be impending. He was impressed by the threatening development of Germany, and by "the extraordinary development of race-energy" in England. Everywhere the force of nationality was more vehement than ever before. "All the world is stretched like a bow, and never was the saying of Heracleitos more significant : "The bow is called Bios (life), and its work is death".

But where was Italy in this universal tension of the national spirit ? Where was her strung bow ? How was she preparing to hold her own with the great progressive nations of the North ? D'Annunzio flung down these challenging questions in his eloquent pamphlet, *Della coscienza nazionale* (1900). To the foreign observer the trouble with Italy did not seem to be defective ambition. She had rather appeared to take her new rôle as a great Power too seriously, blundering into rash adventures abroad when she ought to have been spreading the elements of civilization at home. But d'Annunzio had seen the race for empire in the North, and his call to Italy was the call of an imperialist ; a call for unity of purpose, for concentration of national wealth and strength in the interest of a greater Italy, mistress of the Adriatic if not of the Mediterranean. It was the beginning of a new phase of d'Annunzio's career. He was henceforth a public man, whose voice, the most resonant and eloquent then to be heard in Italy, counted, as poetic voices so rarely do, in the direction of public

affairs. He entered Parliament, a proclaimed disciple in policy of Crispi, the Italian Bismarck.

How did these enlarged ideals affect d'Annunzio's work in poetry? In part, as has been hinted, disastrously. The enlarged ideals lent themselves with perverse ease, in a mind already obsessed with *sovrumanità*, to a mere megalomania, a rage for bigness, only more mischievous in practice, and nowise better as literature, because they were conveyed in terms of navies and transmarine dominions. He had already in his fine series of *Odi Navali* (1893) fanned to some purpose the naval ambitions of his country. He now sounded a loftier note, suited to the vaster horizons of an Italian Mediterranean. These, for instance, are some stanzas from the opening hymn or prayer prefixed to his colossal naval tragedy, *La Nave* (1908):—

O Lord, who bringest forth and dost efface
 The ocean-ruling Nations, race by race,
 It is this living People by Thy grace
 Who on the Sea
 Shall magnify Thy name, who on the Sea
 Shall glorify Thy name, who on the Sea
 With myrrh and blood shall sacrifice to Thee
 At the altar-prow.
 Of all Earth's oceans make Our Sea, O Thou!
 Amen!

But megalomania was not happily the whole result. The older and deeper instincts planted or quickened in d'Annunzio by his earlier experience—the feeling for race and for historic continuity—blended with the new and vehement passion of nationality, communicating to it, in moments of vision, something of their human intimacy, and undergoing in their turn an answering enlargement of range and scope. If his *Italianità* was something more significant than a resonant cry for more ships and territory, it was because it drew warmth and tenderness from the home sentiment for his Abruzzan province deep-rooted in the poet's heart; while the Abruzzan province, in its turn, was seen in the larger and grander setting of the Italian people and the Roman race, but without the distorting nimbus of megalomaniac dreams. This fortunate harmony found expression chiefly in certain poems of the first five years of the new century, the golden period of d'Annunzio's production. To these years belong his two most notable attempts to give to Italy a tragic poetry built upon Italian story.

In the material for tragic poetry no country was richer, but it had been left to the genius of foreign dramatists to give world-wide fame to the stories of Romeo and Juliet, Beatrice Cenci, and Torquato Tasso. Alfieri, the greatest of Italian tragic poets, had devoted his austere art almost solely to classical subjects; and Manzoni's Venetian *Conte di Carmagnola* stood almost alone, as a great Italian tragedy on an Italian theme. In the story of Francesca of Rimini, d'Annunzio found to his hand a native tragic subject of the first order, not yet touched by a tragic poet of genius, Italian or other. That it had been made his own by the supreme poet of Italy hardly disturbed d'Annunzio, deeply as he revered the poet whose words, in the fine phrase of his Dante Ode, clothed Italy like the splendour of day. He was not going to challenge comparison with Dante's marmoreal brevity. And the poet of Pescara had some title to regard this story of the adjacent Adriatic sea-board of Rimini and Ravenna, as his by right. But the story itself has also exerted its moderating control upon the natural prodigiosity of his invention, so that in his Franciscan tragedy, it is possible to recognize a general conformity to traditional technique.

It is even possible that Shakespeare's handling of his Italian tragedy may have afforded a hint. The ruin of Romeo and Juliet results from the feud of the rival houses. The ruin of d'Annunzio's Francesca and Paolo is similarly rooted ultimately in the feud of Guelf and Ghibelline. Her father, a great Guelf captain, has sold her to the lord of Ravenna, as the price of support against the Ghibellines. But when her hand is thus plighted, she has already seen his brother Paolo, with his feminine beauty and luxuriant locks, pass under her window, and the seed of their passion is sown. Francesca has grown up "a flower in an iron soil," and love throughout is set in a frame of war. But she would be no d'Annunzian heroine if she did not respond to the call of life and light. When about to leave Rimini on her marriage she replies to the pleading of her devoted young sister who cannot live without her, "I am going, sweet life, where thou canst not come, to a deep and solitary place, where a great fire burns without fuel". Fire is d'Annunzio's haunting symbol for terrible and splendid things, a symbol, too, for the strange union of cruelty and beauty in his own mind and art, and it does not forecast here only the Inferno flames in which she will move with Paolo so lightly before the wind. In the palace at Ravenna we see her

among her ladies, chafing at her dull seclusion, while the Ghibelline siege rages without. A Florentine merchant displays his gorgeous wares before them, a feast of scarlet and gold. Presently Francesca has climbed to the tower where her husband's brothers are on guard. Bolts and arrows crash against the walls or through the loop-hole. A cauldron of Greek fire stands ready for use. Francesca, to the horror of the soldiers, fires it, and breaks into wild ecstasy at the "deadly beauty" of this "swift and terrible life". A moment later a bolt pierces the curls of Paolo. She thinks he is wounded, and clasps his head. In that embrace he stammers the first word of love. "They have not hit me, but your hands have touched me, and have undone the soul within my heart! . . . *Franc.* "Lost! Thou art lost!" Thus, again, Francesca's fate, like Juliet's, is provoked by the unrelated feud of parties without. But presently the same dissonant entourage thrusts the lovers apart. Paolo is sent as General of the Guelf forces to Florence. Francesca in his absence reads the Lancelot romance with her ladies. But Paolo, unable to endure his exile, posts back to Ravenna, and rushes to her chamber, where she has been reading with her ladies. The romance of Lancelot lies open on the lectern. The place where the reading stopped is marked; it is where Galeotto is urging Lancelot's suit upon Ginevra. They bend over the book together.

Pa. Let us read a page, Francesca!

Fr. Look at that swarm of swallows, making a shadow
On the bright water!

Pa. Let us read, Francesca.

Fr. And that sail that is glowing like fire!

Pa. (reading). "Assuredly,
Lady," says Galeotto, "he does not dare,
Nor will he ask ye anything of love,
Being afraid, but I ask in his name, and if
I did not ask, you ought to seek it, seeing
You could in no wise win a richer treasure."
And she says—

(drawing Francesca gently by the hand)

Now do you read what she says,

Be you Ginevra.

Fr. (reading). And she says: "Well I know it, and I will do
What you command. And Galeotto said:
Grammercy, lady; I beg that you will give him
Your love. . . ."

(she stops.)

- Pa.* Read further !
Fr. No, I cannot see
 The words.
- Pa.* Read : " Certainly . . .
Fr. Certainly," she says,
 " I give it him, but so that he be mine
 And I utterly his, and all ill things
 Made good " . . . Paolo, enough.
- Pa.* (*reading with a hoarse and tremulous voice*).
 " Lady, he says, much thanks ; now in my presence
 Kiss him, for earnest of true love "—You, you !
 What says she now ? What now ?
 (*Their pale faces bend over the book, so that their cheeks
 almost touch.*)
- Fr.* (*reading*). She says : " Why should
 He beg it of me ? I desire it more
 Than you. . . . "
- Pa.* (*continuing with stifled voice*). They draw apart.
 And the Queen sees
 The Knight dare go no further. Then she clasps
 Him by the chin, and with a long kiss kisses
 His mouth. . . .
 (*He kisses her in the same way. When their mouths separate
 Francesca reels, and falls back on the cushions.*)
 Francesca !
- Fr.* (*with hardly audible voice*).
 No, Paolo !

The sequel is too long drawn out, and is marred by the duplicity of all the persons concerned. Malatestino's sleuth-hound cunning brings about the husband's vengeance, but his strategy is animated only by ferocious hatred of the lovers not by any care for justice. By his contrivance, the rough soldier, who has never suspected his own wrongs, returns prematurely from the march, and thunders at the lovers' chamber door : " Open, Francesca ! " The wretched Paolo tries to escape through a trapdoor, but is dragged up by the hair to be slain. But Francesca rushes to clasp him, and the husband's sword pierces her. *Francesca da Rimini*, though a brilliant drama, with innumerable beauties of detail, misses the quality of great tragedy. Of the principal characters Francesca alone excites a fitful sympathy, while Paolo's effeminacy provokes a contempt which diminishes our compassion for the woman whose love he has won. These coward " heroes," who leave their mistresses in mental peril, or slay their sisters, or see their brides borne to execution in their place, seem to

haunt the egoist imagination of the poet, to the grievous hurt of his work. Yet when all is said, *Francesca* is one of the most arresting, though dramatically by no means one of the best plays, produced in Europe during the first decade of the century.

If the *Francesca* owed much to the stimulus and the control of a great historic and literary tradition, the rarer beauty of *La Figlia di Iorio* (1904) was nourished on a yet more potent influence, the old intimate passion for his Abruzzan race and home. In language the more moving because in d'Annunzio so seldom heard, he dedicated "To the land of Abruzzi, to my Mother, to my Sisters, to my Brother in exile, to my Father in his grave, to all my Dead, to all my People between the Mountains and the Sea, this song of the ancient blood". It was, indeed, no mere recurrence to the scenes and memories of his childhood, but a recovery, through them, of the more primitive sensibilities and sympathies which the complexities of an ultra modern culture had obscured or submerged. The shepherds and peasants of this "pastoral tragedy" live and move in an atmosphere fanatically tense with the customs and beliefs of their Catholicized paganism; but no believing poet ever drew the ritual of rustic unreason with more delicate sympathy, or rendered its prayers and incantations in more expressive and beautiful song. For the poetry is not exotic or imposed, like the songs of peasants in opera, it is found and elicited. The young shepherd, Aligi, is drawn into a kind of mystic relationship to Mila di Codra, a witch-maiden dreaded and abhorred over the whole countryside. But a bride has been chosen for him, and the scene opens with the preparations for her coming. Aligi's three sisters are seen kneeling before the old carved oak chest, choosing her bridal robes, and vying with each other in joyous morning carols. A band of scarlet wool is drawn across the open door, a crook and a distaff lean against it, and by the doorpost hangs a waxen cross as a charm against evil spells. Aligi looks on in dreamy distraction, his thoughts far away. The women of the neighbour farms come in procession bearing gifts of corn in baskets on their heads. An unknown girl follows in their train. Presently angry cries are heard in the distance. The reapers are in pursuit of Mila, whose spells have spoilt their harvest, they have seen her enter the house and clamour at the door for her surrender. The frightened women tremble, but Mila has crouched down on the sacred hearth, whence it would be sacrilege to remove her, and Ornella, the

youngest of the sisters, who alone secretly pities Mila, draws the bolts. The storm of menace grows louder, till Aligi, roused from his dreamy absorption by the taunts of the women, raises his hand to strike the suppliant on the hearth. Immediately the horror of his sacrilege seizes him, he implores her pardon on his knees, and thrusts his guilty hand into the flame. Then he hangs the cross above the door and releases the bolts. The reapers rush in, but seeing the cross, draw back in dismay, baring their heads. Aligi has saved his "sister in Christ," but his guilt is not effaced.

In the second Act, Aligi and Mila are living together, as brother and sister, in a mountain cavern. He would fain go with his flocks to Rome to seek dissolution of his marriage ; but she knows that happiness is not for her, and she will not hurt him with her passionate love. But in his home they know only that the enchantress has carried off the son from his mother and his virgin bride ; Ornella, the compassionate sister, is thrust out of doors, and now the father, who had returned home only after the reapers had gone, arrives at the mountain cavern in Aligi's absence, and peremptorily summons Mila. She holds him defiantly at bay. He is about to seize her, when Aligi appears on the threshold. In the great scene which follows, the Roman authority of the Abruzzan father over the son overpowers for the moment even the lover's devotion. Not softened by Aligi's humble submission, Lázaro binds him, flogs him savagely, and turns upon Mila, now wholly in his power. At the moment when he has seized her, Aligi breaks free, rushes upon his father, and kills him. The third act opens with the mourning for Lázaro, in long-drawn lyric dirges. Then harsher and fiercer notes are heard, and Aligi, deeply penitent, appears black-robed and bound, borne by the angry mob to bid farewell to his mother before being led to the parricide's death. "To call you mother is no more permitted me, for my mouth is of hell, the mouth that sucked your milk, and learnt from you holy prayers in the fear of God. Why have I harmed you so sorely ? I would fain say, but I will be silent. O most helpless of all women who have suckled a son, who have sung him to sleep in the cradle and at the breast, O do not lift this black veil, to see the face of the trembling sinner. . . ." The crowd tries to comfort her in its rough way, and the mother gives her son the bowl of drugged wine. Suddenly, confused cries are heard in the rear, and Mila breaks her way impetuously through the throng. "Mother,

sisters, bride of Aligi, just people, justice of God, I am Mila di Codra. I am guilty. Give me hearing!" They call for silence, and Mila declares that Aligi is innocent, and she the murderer. Aligi protests: "Before God thou liest". But the crowd eagerly turns its fury upon the dreaded enchantress who owns her guilt, and the cry goes up: "To the flames! To the flames!" Aligi protests again, but with growing faintness, as the deadening potion masters and confuses his brain; till at length, when the bonds have been transferred from his limbs to Mila's, he lifts up his hands to curse her. This breaks down her fortitude. With a piercing shriek she cries: "Aligi, Aligi, not thou, thou canst not, thou must not!" She is hurried away to the stake, only Ornella crying aloud: "Mila, Mila, Sister in Jesus, Paradise is for thee," while Mila herself, now full of the d'Annunzian exultation in glorious ruin, goes to her death crying: "Beautiful Flame, Beautiful Flame!"

A brief résumé such as this inevitably brings into undue emphasis the melodramatic elements of the plot. Yet it is the most human and natural, as it is the most beautiful, of d'Annunzio's dramas. For the strangest things that happen in it are no mere projections of the poet's inspired ferocity or eroticism, as so often elsewhere, but grounded in the real psychology of a primitive countryside, fear, love, hatred, now mysteriously mastered by superstitious awe, now breaking rebelliously from its control, now wrought by its mystic power to else inexplicable excesses.

V.

But even the finest dramatic work of d'Annunzio makes clear that his genius is fundamentally lyrical. The greatest moments of *La Figlia di Iorio* and *Francesca* are uttered in a vein which thrills and sings; while, on the other hand, these moments are often reached by summary short cuts or bold assumptions. And it is fortunate that while he continued to be allured by drama—giving in particular a very individual rendering of the tragedy of Phœdra (1909)—d'Annunzio's most serious and ambitious poetry took the form of a kind of grandiose festival of sustained song, the *Làudi* (1903 onwards). We have already quoted from the picture of his childhood drawn retrospectively by the poet of forty. But these passages, though not at all merely episodic, in no way disclose the grandiose conception and design of the

Làudi. "Praises," he calls them, "Praises of the Sky, of the Sea, of the Earth, of its Heroes." The glory of the universe drew a more majestic chant from the poet of the 123rd Psalm, though in his naïve Hebrew way he "praised" only the Maker of these "wonderful works". D'Annunzio's "praise" expresses simply the ravishment of acute sensibilities in the presence of the loveliness and sublimity of Nature and the heroism of man, an emotion Greek rather than Hebraic. Our poet is perhaps the least Hebraic of all modern poets of genius; and if his barbaric violence alienates him almost as completely from the Hellenic temper, he is yet akin to it by his inexhaustible joy in beauty. And in these years of the *Làudi* Hellas had become more than ever the determining focus about which his artistic dreams revolved, the magnet to whose lure even the barbarian in him succumbs. The first book, called *Maia*, after the mother of Hermes, describes the poet's spiritual journey to the shrine of that god of energy and enterprise, whose Praxitelean image, the most magnificent expression of radiant virility ever fashioned by the chisel, had not long before been unearthed at Olympia. It is a journey of discovery, and d'Annunzio invokes for it the symbolism of the last voyage of the Dantesque Ulysses to seek the experience that lay "beyond the sunset". D'Annunzio turns his prow east not west, but he, too, is daring peril in the quest of the unknown. A splendid Proem in terza-rima "To the Pleiads and the Fates," takes us to a rocky promontory by the Atlantic shore, where, on a flaming pyre, the helm of the wrecked ship of Ulysses is being consumed—the fiery consummation which crowns most of d'Annunzio's heroic careers. The modern venturer, too, must disdain safety, not like Galileo turning back into the secure haven, but fronting the pathless sea of fate with no anchor but his own valour. The sequel does not, it is true, accord completely with this Ulyssean vision. Symbolic imagery is interwoven, in this "spiritual journey," with scenes from an actual voyage to Greece, leaves from a tourist's notebook, incidents of steamer-life, games and talk on board, sketches of fellow-passengers, the squalor and vice of Patras. Presently the ship reaches Elis, and then, as we enter the ruins of Olympia, the great past, human and divine, rises up before us. Pericles, Alcibiades, Themistocles obliterate the tourist memories, and the poet holds high colloquy with Zeus, and offers up a prayer, nine hundred lines long, to Hermes—a superb exposition of the future of humanity, as d'Annunzio hoped to see it wrought by the

genius of Energy and Enterprise, Invention and Will, a future dominated by men of rocky jaw, who chew care like a laurel leaf, precipitate themselves on life, and impregnate it relentlessly with their purposes—a significant image, for the d'Annunzian Hermes is fused with Eros (v. 2904). Eros was, indeed, indispensable it might well be thought to a quite satisfying d'Annunzian divinity. Yet in the fine colloquy with Zeus, which precedes, he touches a deeper note, rare with him, of desperate and baffled struggle with his own "vast sensuality". He begs Zeus for a sign. "I am at war with many monsters, but the direst are those, ah me, which rise within me from the depths of my lusts." "Thou wilt conquer them, replies Zeus, only if thou canst transform them into divine children." The solution lay, for him, not through ethics but through art.

The succeeding books, *Elettra*, *Alcione*, contain a profusion of poetry, some of it sounding notes of tenderness or of meditative reminiscence, which rarely pierce through the metallic clangour of d'Annunzio's grandiose inspirations. The resonant herald of the Third Italy wanders, for instance, among the "Cities of Silence"—decayed, half-grass grown capitals of vanished dukes and kings and extinct republics—Ferrara, Pisa, Pistoja; oldest and grandest of all, Ravenna, the "deep ship's hull, heavy with the iron weight of empire, driven by shipwreck on the utmost bounds of the world".¹ So, too, the poet of pitiless virility can sing, in these riper years of childhood, if not with the exquisite tenderness of the ageing Swinburne—his nearest kinsman among English poets—yet with an imaginatively idealizing touch like that of Wordsworth's *Ode* (which possibly d'Annunzio knew):—

Thou art ignorant of all, and discernest
All the Truths that the Shadow hides.
If thou questionest Earth, Heaven answers,
If thou speakest with the waters, the flowers hear.

The immense plenitude of life
Is tremulous in the light murmur
Of thy virginal breathing,
And man with his fervors and his griefs.²

But the old enthusiasms, too, yield moments of noble poetry. Even beyond the "earth" and the "sea" and "sky," it is the "heroes,"

¹ *Elettra*: *Città del Silenzio*.

² *Alcione*: *Il Fanciullo*.

and above all the heroes of Italy, who are "praised". Of the sequence of lyrics on the great enterprise of Garibaldi's "Thousand," *La Notte di Caprera*, it is enough to say that it is worthy of being put beside Carducci's Ode. After a quarter of a century Garibaldi's glory was no whit dimmed. On the contrary, Italians who knew how many gross blots defiled the Italy he had helped to win, saw Garibaldi as a figure of ideal splendour and purity on the further side of a foul morass. The bitter disillusion of such minds is powerfully painted in the moving piece : "To One of the Thousand". An old Garibaldian sailor brings his broken anchor-cable to the ship cordwainer to be mended. He looks on, sombre, dejected, silent ; but thinking what he does not say, and his thoughts are like this :—

The anchor-sheet is broken : let it be.
 No hope of mending. Give it up, go home !
 Turn into scourges, cordsman, and halter-nooses
 Thy bitter twine.
 Vilely supine lies the Third Italy,
 A prostitute that every bully uses,
 And in her holy oak-grove's shadow, Rome
 Pastures her swine.¹

But Rome, the eternal City, could only obscure her destiny, not efface it ; disillusion founded on her moments of self-oblivion, was itself the vainest of illusions. That is the faith of the new Italian Renaissance, and d'Annunzio, the fiercest assailant of her oblivious fatuities, attains his sublimest note of "praise" in the great Ode which prophetically arrays Rome in her coming glory as the embodied Power of Man.

It is based on the legend, told by Ovid, of the ship of the Great Mother, stranded in the Tiber mud, and drawn to shore by the Vestal Virgin Claudia Quinta. The opening stanzas tell the story—the dearth in the city, the Sibylline oracle's counsel to bring the image of the Mater Magna, the arrival of her ship in the river, the stranding in the mud, the vain efforts of the entire city to extricate it, until a Vestal Virgin, without an effort draws it to bank. Then the poet interprets the symbolic story :—

So, O Rome, our Rome, in its time
 Shall come from far-off seas,
 Shall come from the deep, the Power
 Wherein alone thou hast hope.

¹ *Elettra : A uno dei Mille.*

So, O Rome, our Rome, in its hour,
A heroic Maid of thy race
Shall draw Her within thy walls.
Not a vessel immovably stuck
In the slimy bed, not an image
Once worshipped in foreign fanes,
Shall her pure hand draw to the shore ;
But the Power of Man, but the holy
Spirit born in the heart
Of the Peoples in peace and in war,
But the glory of Earth in the glow
Divine of the human Will
That manifests her, and transfigures,
By works and deeds beyond number,
Of light, and darkness, of love
And hatred, of life and death ;
But the beauty of human fate,
The fate of Man who seeks
His divinity in his Creature.
Since in thee, as in an imperishable
Imprint shall the Power of Man
Take form and image ordained
In the market-place and the Senate
To curb the dishonour of Men.

O Rome, O Rome, in thee only,
In the circle of thy seven hills,
The myriad human discords
Shall yet find their vast and sublime
Unity. Thou the new Bread
Shalt give, and speak the new Word.

All that men have thought,
Dreamed, suffered, achieved,
Enjoyed, in the Earth's vast bound,
So many thoughts, and dreams,
So many labours and pangs,
And joys, and every right won
And every secret laid bare,
And every book set open
In the boundless circuit of Earth. . . .
Shall become the vesture of thee,
Thee only, O Rome, O Rome !
Thou, goddess, Thou only shalt break
The new Bread, and speak the new Word !

On this note, the climax of his boundless national faith, we will leave d'Annunzio. We are apt to think that the tide of humanity

has ebbed decisively away from the city of the seven hills, and that wherever its Sundered streams may be destined finally to flow together in unison, the Roman Forum, where the roads of all the world once met, will not be that spot. Yet a city which can generate magnificent, even if illusory, dreams is assured of a real potency in human affairs not to be challenged in its kind by far greater and wealthier cities which the Londoner or the New Yorker would never think of addressing in these lyrical terms.

Few men so splendidly endowed as d'Annunzio have given the world so much occasion for resentment and for ridicule. His greatest gifts lent themselves with fatal ease to abuse ; his " vast sensuality " and his iron nerve sometimes co-operate and enforce one another in abortions of erotics and ferocity. But the same gifts, in other phases, become the creative and controlling elements of his wonderful style. His boundless wealth of sensuous images provides the gorgeous texture of its ever changing woof. But its luxury is controlled by tenacious purpose ; the sentences, however richly arrayed, move with complete lucidity of aim to their goal ; the surface is pictorial, but the structure is marble. Thus this Faun of genius, as he seems under one aspect compounded with the Quixotic adventurer, as he seems under another, meet in one of the supreme literary artists of the Latin race, a creator of beauty which, however Latin in origin and cast, has the quality that strikes home across the boundaries of race, and has already gone far to make its author not merely the protagonist of the Latin Renaissance, but a European classic.

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MEMORIAL STATUE IN THE BULL RING, KIDDERMINSTER

STORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER'S "SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST".

BY FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., Ph.D.

IN an open space of Kidderminster called the Bull Ring—at the centre of the town—there is a fine statue of Baxter which figures him with right hand uplifted and pointing heavenward—pointing, as the inscription says, “the way to the Everlasting Rest”.²

It expresses, in eloquent symbolism what was indeed the supreme purpose of Baxter's ministry. His mind was filled with the thought of man as a “pilgrim of Eternity,” whose earthly interests are of ab-

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 12 February, 1919.

² The whole inscription runs:—

Richard Baxter,
Between the years 1641 and 1660.
This town
was the scene of the labours
of
Richard Baxter
renowned equally for
his Christian learning
and his pastoral fidelity.
In a stormy and divided age
he advocated unity and comprehension
pointing the way to
“The Everlasting Rest”.

Churchmen and nonconformists
united to raise this memorial
A.D. 1875.

The author of the Inscription is said to have been Rev. Edward Parry, minister of the Unitarian Church, and afterwards founder and editor of the *Kidderminster Shuttle*. It seems to me a model of its kind. The statue was unveiled by Dean Stanley.

solutely no account save in their relation to his future destiny. Hence, to teach man how to prepare himself for a blessed future became his absorbing task.

But the symbolism is significant in another way. It shows how there has grown up an instinctive connexion between Baxter and his first book. Not more surely does John Bunyan suggest the *Pilgrim's Progress* than Richard Baxter the *Saints' Rest*. Bunyan wrote some eighteen other books, and Baxter wrote not fewer than 160 other books ; but each owes his common fame to one. No doubt, it has to be admitted at once that the common fame of the former has been on a far larger scale than that of the latter. *Pilgrim's Progress* has circulated in its millions, while the *Saints' Rest* has never gone beyond its thousands. But that is hardly the point. The point is that most people when they think of Bunyan think of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and that most people when they think of Baxter think of the *Saints' Rest*. Nor is there any difficulty in accounting for this fact when we remember that both dealt with the same theme—a theme deeply interesting then to a wide public ; and that both so treated it (though in very different fashion), as to capture and fascinate the reader's attention. And their treatment had at least three similar features. It was alike in the perfect sincerity of their faith and the intense force of their appeal ; it was alike in presenting conceptions of life, and the future, which professed to be drawn exclusively from the teaching of Scripture ; and it was alike in the possession of a singularly attractive style. Bunyan's style has often been extolled—by Lord Macaulay, e.g. whose dictum that it ranks with that of the Authorised Version of the Bible is well known. But Baxter's English is of much the same quality as Bunyan's—not less pure, clear, and simple. Here is what Archbishop Trench, no mean judge, has said of it : “ There reigns in Baxter's writings, and not least in the *Saints' Rest*, a robust and masculine eloquence ; nor do these want from time to time, rare and unsought felicities of language which, once heard, can scarcely be forgotten. In regard, indeed, to the choice of words the book might have been written yesterday. There is hardly one which has become obsolete ; hardly one which has drifted away from the meaning which it has in his writings. This may not be a great matter, but it argues a rare insight, conscious or unconscious, into all which was truest, into all which was furthest re-

moved from affectation and untruthfulness in the language—that, after more than 200 years, so it should be ; and we may recognize here an element, not to be overlooked, of the abiding popularity of the Book.”¹

This is true, and I will but add that Baxter did not study style—except to make language as clear a medium of his thoughts as possible.

“I never loved affectation,” he says, “nor too much industry about words, nor like the temper of them that do.” “May I speak pertinently, piercingly, plainly, and somewhat properly, I have enough.” “He is the best preacher” (or writer) “who feels what he speaks and then speaks what he feels.”²

With regard to most of his books he says : “I wrote them in the crowd of all my other employments, which would allow me no great leisure for Polishing and Exactness, or any Ornament ; so that I scarce ever wrote one Sheet twice over, nor stayed to make any Blots or Interlinings, but was fain to let it go as it was first conceived (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 124).

The *Saints' Rest* he speaks of as an exception. On the composition of this he bestowed more pains ; and was in a position to do so, because most of it was written during an enforced leisure of four months. But there can have been no great study of words even in this case, seeing that during the same period he wrote another book—*Aphorisms of Justification*—and that the *Saints' Rest* itself ran into a volume of 800 quarto pages closely printed.

Baxter was born in November, 1615, and the first edition of the *Saints' Rest* came out in the early weeks of 1650. That is to say, it came out in his thirty-fifth year ; and had been written, in great part, four or five years before. Thus, what I think is not generally realized, it was *the product of a young man*—a young man, moreover, rather weary of life. He relates the occasion of it in his Autobiography—“Whilst I was in health I had not the least thought of writing Books, or of serving God in any more publick way than preaching. But when I was weakened with great bleeding and left solitary in my chamber at Sir John Cook's in Derbyshire, without any acquaintance—but my servant—about me, and was sentenced to death by the Physicians, I began to contemplate more seriously on the Everlasting

¹ *Companions of the Devout Life*, p. 89.

² *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, Premonition.

Rest which I apprehended myself to be on the Borders of. And that my thoughts might not scatter too much in my meditation I began to write something on that Subject, intending but the Quantity of a Sermon, or two . . . but being continued long in weakness where I had no books, nor no better employment, I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 108). This account of the book, written in or about 1664, fifteen years after the time when he thought himself on the point of death, agrees with that which he gave in the general "Dedication" of 1649. When he began to write his sense of weakness was so extreme that he did not expect to "survive two months longer". Yet he lived till 1691, and continued in strenuous mental toil almost to the end—a sure proof of extraordinary vitality. Still clearer proof might be found in his survival of the unnatural treatment to which, so frequently, he subjected himself. The story of what he calls his "remedies" is, indeed, an amazing record. Thus, in the present case, he was overtaken by illness at Sir John Cook's house through exposure "in a cold and snowy Season". "The cold, together with other things coincident," set his "Nose on bleeding," and he "bled about a quart or two". Then what did he do? He "opened four Veins," and "used divers other Remedies for several days". He adds, as we should expect, that this abuse of nature was "to no purpose". So he "gave" himself "A purge"—with the result that while it "stopped" the bleeding, it "so much weakened" him, "and altered" his "complexion that" his "Acquaintance who came to visit" him "scarce knew" him (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 58).

Such was his physical state when he began the *Saints' Rest*. He felt sick unto death. Then, too, he was sick in mind as well as in body. Recent experiences had brought him bitter disappointment, and may be said to have dried up his joy in life for the time being. Let us glance at these. After "about a year and three quarters" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 18) as a preacher at Bridgnorth Baxter came to Kidderminster (1641) "that place which had the chiefest of "his" labours and yielded "him" the greatest fruits of comfort" (*id.*, p. 20). But the outbreak of Civil War interrupted his prosperous labours. He was for the Parliament, while the people of the town, or at any rate the lowest stratum of the people—called the "Rabble" by Baxter—were for the King. By instigation of some outsiders the "Rabble" assailed him



BAXTER'S PULPIT, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE NEW
MEETING HOUSE AT KIDDERMINSTER

as a Puritan and imperilled his life.¹ So, by advice of his friends, he withdrew and went to Gloucester. At the end of a month he returned. Very soon, however, when a rumour of the King's approach from Shrewsbury, on his way to Oxford, stirred the Rabble to greater violence than before, he withdrew a second time; and did not return for nearly six years. These years, so critical for the nation, were no less critical for Baxter. In the school of events he learnt what no books could teach him. While preaching at Alcester, on the first Sunday evening of his exile, the cannon could be heard from the battle of Edgehill (23 October, 1642). Next morning he and his friend the minister of Alcester (Mr. Samuel Clark) "rode to the field to see what was done". They saw it strewn with "a thousand dead bodies"; and the two exhausted armies facing each other across it—a sight which evoked the conviction that a fratricidal war so horrible must end in a few days, or weeks. Cherishing this hope he passed on to Coventry, and stayed a month with the Puritan Minister, Mr. Samuel King. Then, the war not being yet over, he removed to the Governor's house, having promised him and the committee of the town, to preach once a week to the garrison. Going beyond his promise, he preached once a week also to the townsfolk—for no payment but his lodging and diet. In this way, weeks ran into months, and still the war went on—though nothing but the rumour of it reached Coventry. "While I lived here in Peace and Liberty, as Men in a dry House do hear the storms abroad, so did we daily hear the news of one fight or other, or one garrison or other, won or lost; the two *Newbery Fights*, *Gloucester Siege*, the marvellous Sieges of *Plimouth*, *Lime*, and *Taunton*; Sir *William Waller's* Successes and Losses, the Loss at *Newark*, the Slaughter at *Bolton*, the greatest fight of all at *York*, with abundance more. So that hearing such sad news on one side or other was our daily Work, insomuch that as duly as I wakened in the Morning I expected to hear one come and tell me, *Such a Garrison is won or*

¹ The editor of the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* in "the Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature," says the assault upon him was occasioned by his having *obtained* an order from Parliament to destroy a crucifix in the churchyard, etc. But Baxter did not "obtain" it. It was "sent down," "and, thinking it came from Just authority," he "left the Churchwarden to do what he thought good". Nor was this the immediate occasion of the "Rabble's Fury" which drove him away (see *R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 40).

lost, or Such a Defeat received or given: and do you hear the news, was commonly the first word I heard. So miserable were those bloody days in which he was the most honourable that could kill most of his enemies" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 46).

At length came the news of Naseby (June 15, 1645); and with it a great change for Baxter. A visit to Naseby field was followed by a visit to the Parliamentary Headquarters before Leicester. His ostensible purpose was to discover what he could about two or three old friends in the army; but there was something more behind. His deeper purpose was to find out what he could about the religious state of the army. For disquieting reports, growing ever more definite, had reached him, to the effect that Cromwell's soldiers were given up to all manner of subversive notions; and that Cromwell himself was either indifferent, or even actively sympathetic. And, to his horror, he found that, for once, report had fallen short of the truth. There is no room or need here to go into details. It is enough to note that Baxter, then and there, formed a grave resolution. The post of chaplain in his friend Colonel Whalley's regiment¹ was offered him; and, against his inclination, he decided to accept it. He did so in the temper of an enthusiast. He was sure that if the ministers generally had from the first taken and kept their due place among the soldiers, they could easily have nipped off the poisonous buds of false doctrine, one by one, as they appeared. This task the ministers had declined or else had grown weary of. Now alas! it might be too late. Now, if the ministers came forward, they might encounter, from the deluded soldiers, fierce resistance, or, at best, a cold welcome. Truly they had missed a golden opportunity. He, in his ignorance, had missed it too. But all the more reason why, even at the eleventh hour, he should do what he could. Baxter's courage, whenever duty seemed to call him, was invincible. He took no thought of personal consequences. And

¹ Baxter accompanied Whalley's regiment to most, if not all, of the places to which it went during the next two years. In this way, he saw much fighting. He was present at the battle of Langport (10 July, 1645); at the siege of Bridgwater (taken by storm 23 July); at the final assault of Bristol (11 September); at the siege of Exeter (surrendered 13 April, 1646); at that of Oxford (surrendered 24 June, 1646); at that of Banbury (for two months before its fall, 9 May, 1646); and at that of Worcester (apparently for the greater part of the eleven weeks before its capture on 22 June, 1646).

he had a most naïve confidence in his own powers of persuasion. On the other hand, he was very apt to overlook the real difficulties in front of him, and to underrate his enemy. Hence, the frequent failures which surprised him in the course of his many controversial adventures ; and his failure in this, his first adventure, was probably to himself the most surprising of all, "As soon as I came to the Army Oliver Cromwell coldly bid me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there." He discovered the key to Cromwell's attitude when he heard that "his secretary gave out that there was a Reformer come to the Army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State, with some such other Jeers" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 52). Nevertheless, he set himself, "from day to day, to find out the corruptions of the soldiers," and to counteract them. These corruptions, of course, were not vices of conduct, but faults of opinion. The former had short shrift in Cromwell's army. Opinion, however, was free to utter itself as it liked. And, complains Baxter, what it liked was to utter itself "sometimes for State Democracy and sometimes for Church Democracy ; sometimes against forms of Prayer and sometimes against Infant Baptism . . . sometimes against set times of Prayer, and against the tying of ourselves to any Duty before the Spirit move us ; and sometimes about Free-grace and Free-will, and all the points of Antinomianism and Arminianism. . . . But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for Liberty of Conscience, as they called it, i.e. that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do to determine of anything in Matters of Religion, by constraint or restraint, but every man might not only *hold* but *preach*, and *do*, in Matters of Religion, what he pleased ; that the Civil Magistrate hath nothing to do but with civil things, to keep the peace, and protect the Church's Liberties, etc." (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 53). It would not be fair to say that Baxter's disapproval extended to *all* these opinions. It certainly did not in equal degree. What most provoked him was the dogmatic ignorance of their advocates ; and what alarmed him was the threatened danger to law and order in Church and State. His own creed, political and ecclesiastical as well as theological, though not narrow, rested on strictly conservative foundations, and had no room for the revolutionary. To him, therefore, the outlook was terrifying if the army, or rather the Radicals of the army, got the upper hand. And he was forced to see them getting the upper hand more and more, while his own counteractive endeavours, on the whole, were

quite fruitless, outside Whalley's regiment. Indeed, if the last words he wrote on his unhappy experiment are to be taken seriously, he was becoming so obnoxious to some of the soldiers that, had he gone on longer, they were ready to kill him "in their fury" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 59). Such were the conditions under which he wrote the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. He was sick in body and mind. He was life-weary; and turned to death as to a friend. His work, he thought, had been a failure. The work of others, who stood for what he conceived to be the cause of God, was also a failure, or on the way to failure. England lay under the judgment of God, and so long as she refused to repent of her sins the judgment would remain. But Baxter saw no sign of repentance; and we, looking back, can see why. We can see that what he thought England's sins were, for the most part, just those manifestations of angry discontent with things as they were which expressed her striving, her birth-throes, towards a better world. Baxter was not the first man, nor the last, to take fright at such manifestations, and miscall them sins. It demands a kind of faith in human nature, and in God himself, which he did not possess, in order to be calm and hopeful amid whirlwinds of change. Baxter neither possessed that faith; nor understood men, like Cromwell, who possessed it greatly. His own faith was strong; was clear; in certain ways, was broad and free; but, at some vital points, it was sore hampered by formulæ—formulæ to which he clung, as if it were identical with the very substance of truth. Baxter's mental state, then, was not cheerful—was, indeed, somewhat morbid—when he began to write of the *Saints' Rest*. And this fact is noteworthy because it is really the key, in large measure, to his book. Melancholy, born of a sick body and mind, tinctures it more or less, throughout, and particularly some of its most characteristic passages.

1. Here is one, e.g. which shows how deeply the war had distressed him: "O the sad and heart-piercing spectacles that mine eyes have seen in four years' space! In this fight, a dear friend fall down by me; from another, a precious Christian brought home wounded or dead; scarce a moneth, scarce a week without the sight or loss of blood. Surely there is none of this in heaven. Our eyes shall then be filled no more, nor our hearts pierced, with such fights as at Worcester, Edghil, Newbury, Nantwich, Montgomery, Horncastle, York, Naseby, Langport, etc. . . ." "What heart is not wounded to think on

Germanie's long desolations ?¹ O the learned Universities ! The flourishing churches there, that now are left desolate ! Look on *England's* four years' blood, a flourishing land almost made ruined ; hear but the common voice in most Cities, Towns, and Countreys through the Land, and judge whether here be no cause of sorrow ; Especially look but to the sad effects, and men's spirits grown more out of order, when a most wonderful Reformation by such wonderful means might have been expected. And is not this cause of astonishing sorrows ? Look to *Scotland*, look to *Ireland*, look almost anywhere and tell me what you see. Blessed that approaching day, when our eyes shall behold no more such sights ; nor our ears hear any more such tidings. How many hundred Pamphlets are Printed, full of almost nothing but the common calamities ? So that it's become a gainful trade to divulge the news of our Brethren's sufferings. And the fears for the future that possessed our hearts were worse than all that we saw and suffered. O the tydings that run from *Edghil fight*, of *York fight*, etc. How many a face did they make pale ? and how many a heart did they astonish ? Nay, have not many died with the fears of that which if they had lived they had neither suffered nor seen ? It's said of Melancthon, that the miseries of the Church made him almost neglect the death of his most beloved children. To think of the Gospel departing, the Glory taken from *Israel*, our Sun-setting at Noon-day, poor souls left willingly dark and destitute, and with great pains and hazard blowing out the light that should guide them to salvation ! What sad thoughts must these be ? To think of Christ removing His Family, taking away both worship and worshippers, and to leave the land to the rage of the merciless. These were sad thoughts. Who could then have taken the Harp in hand, or sung the pleasant Songs of Zion ? But blessed be the Lord who hath frustrated our fears ; and who will hasten the rejoycing day when Zion shall be exalted above the Mountains and her Gates shall be open day and night. . . . Thus shall we rest from our participation of our Brethren's sufferings.²

2. Among the "Excellencies of our Rest," which Baxter enumerates, one is this : " We shall then Rest from all our sad Divisions and un-

¹ Refers to the Thirty Years' War (1618-48).

² *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 15.

Christian-like quarrels with one another". In the margin¹ he says: "This was written upon the war in Scotland, the Death of Mr. Love,² the Imprisonment of many more, and an Ordinance for the Sequestering of all Ministers that would not go to God on their Errands, in Fasting and Prayer, or in Thanksgivings for their Successes. And an order made to put out all Ministers from all the cities, Market-Towns, and Garrisons, that subscribed not their Engagement." Baxter was very angry with Cromwell and his party for their conduct in what is called the Second Civil War. Cromwell's invasion of Scotland; his stern suppression of a Royalist plot in which Presbyterians—even Presbyterian divines like Rev. Christopher Love had a hand; his call upon the nation to observe days of prayer and fasting for the furtherance of his campaign and of thanksgiving for victories like Dunbar; his demand for a declaration of loyalty to a regicide Government—were crimes, in Baxter's view, almost past forgiveness. He had dreamed of a union between England and Scotland by means of which both lands, without strict uniformity, should enjoy all the benefits of the Gospel in a reformed Church.

"O what sweet idolizing thoughts of our future state had we in time of wars! What full content did I promise my soul when I should enjoy Peace, and see the Gospel set up in power and plenty, and all the ordinances in purity, and the true Discipline exercised in the churches, and ignorance cured, and all persecutions ceased, and the mouths of railers stopped, who kept men from Christ by filling the world with prejudice against Him? And now where is the Rest that I promised myself? Even that is my greatest grief from which I expected most Content. Instead of Peace we have more bloodshed; and such as is confessed to be the blood of Saints. The two nations that were bound in an Oath of Union, and where so great a part of the Interest of Christ on earth is contained (in regard of Purity of Doctrine and Worship) are dashing each other in pieces, and the souls of multitudes let out of their bodies by those that look to rejoice with them for ever in Heaven. . . ."³

"O what a potent instrument for Satan is a misguided Conscience!"

¹ Not, however, in any edition (I think) earlier than the seventh (1658, "revised by the author").

² Executed on 22 August, 1651.

³ *S.E.R.*, Pt. II, chap. ix. § 1.

"O what hellish things are Ignorance and Pride that can bring men's souls to such a state as this!"¹

"That the same men, who would have travelled through reproaches many miles, to hear an able faithful minister, and not think the labor ill bestowed, should now become their bitterest enemies, and the most powerful hinderers of the success of their labors, and travel as far to cry them down! It makes me almost ready to say, O sweet, O happy days of persecution, which drove us together in a closure of Love! (we) who being now dried at the fire of Liberty and Prosperity are crumbled all into dust by our contentions. But it makes me seriously, both to say and to think: O sweet, O happy day of the Rest of the Saints in Glory! When, as there is one God, one Christ, one Spirit, so we shall have one Judgment, one Heart, one Church, one Imployment for ever! When there shall be no more Circumcision and Uncircumcision, Jew and Gentile, Anabaptist or Pædo baptist, Brownist, Separatist, Independent, Presbyterian, Episcopal; but Christ is All and in All. We shall not there scruple our communion, nor any of the Ordinances of Divine Worship. There will not be one for singing and another against it; but even those who here jarred in discord shall all conjoyn in blessed concord and make up one melodious Quire." . . . "Well, the fault may be mine and it may be theirs; or more likely both mine and theirs. But this rejoiceth me, that my old friends who now look strangely on me, will joyfully triumph with me in our common Rest."²

3. "We shall rest also from all our own personal sufferings"—is the title of another section. This "may seem a small thing to those that live in continual ease, and abound in all kind of prosperity". But such is not the case of the saints. "They live a dying life as full of sufferings as of days and hours." "Grief creeps in at our eyes, at our ears, and almost everywhere. It seizeth upon our head, our hearts, our flesh, our Spirits, and what part doth escape it? Fears do devour us, and darken our Delights, as the Frosts do nip the tender Buds. Cares do consume us and feed upon our Spirits, as the scorching Sun doth wither the delicate flowers." Such, at any rate, has been his own case, "who in ten or twelve years' time have scarce had a whole day free from some dolor. O the weary nights

¹ *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 13.

² *Id.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 14.

and days ! O the unseverable languishing weakness ! O the restless working vapors ! O the tedious nauseous medicines ! besides the daily expectations of worse ! And will it not be desirable to Rest from all these ?

“ There will be then no crying out, O my head, O my Stomack, or O my Sides, or O my Bowels. No, no ; sin and flesh and dust and pain, will all be left behind together. O what would we not give now for a little ease, much more for a perfect cure ? how then should we value that perfect freedom ? If we have some mixed comforts here, they are scarce enough to sweeten our crosses ; or if we have some short and smiling Intermissions, it is scarce time enough to breathe us in, and to prepare our tacklings for the next storm. If one wave pass by, another succeeds ; and if the night be over, and the day come, yet will it soon be night again.”¹

Such illustrations—which might be easily multiplied—seem to warrant what has been said, that the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* bears clear traces of its author's melancholy state of mind. If Baxter had written it, while in a state of inward serenity, no doubt its general outlines would have been the same, but certainly not its prevailing tone. If, e.g., he had written it some fourteen years later, when he composed that self-review (in his *Autobiography*²) which is the very mirror of a soul chastened and sweetened by experience, I am sure the tone would have been different. I am sure, especially, that his meditations of heaven would have been more free, here and there, from brain-sick fancies ; and that his terrific imaginations of hell would have been left out, or greatly modified. As it is, I think it might be possible to demonstrate that the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* did much to foster that unhealthy attitude to life and death which is so marked a characteristic of English piety, even the truest, in the eighteenth century.

Another feature of the book is remarkable. One would expect a discourse on Rest to be Restful. But restfulness is the last, and least, impression which it makes. Of course there are quiet resting-places. Almost the whole of chapter viii. in Part III—on “ Further Causes of Doubting Among Christians ”—is a quiet resting-place in green pastures and within the sound of still waters. But, speaking generally,

¹ *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 16.

² *R.B.*, Pt. I, pp. 130-8.

one feels as if afloat on a swift and swirling current which never gets clear of chafing obstacles. One is kept on the stretch and strain from end to end. And the reason is to be found in his theological position. He was neither a thorough-going Calvinist nor an avowed Arminian. He was, however, more of the latter than he knew. His first (published¹) book—*Aphorisms of Justification*—is the proof of this. Here, the doctrine of imputed righteousness, in the accepted Calvinistic sense, is met by a doctrine of Evangelical Righteousness which virtually overthrows it. Baxter had come to feel a horror of Antinomianism,² and of that one-sided conception of Divine grace which made it the chief mark of a Christian to leave everything to God. There were many around him who encouraged themselves in spiritual laziness, and even in moral laxity, by such doctrine. This led him to lay stress on the human element in salvation—especially on those moral claims of the Gospel, to which its grace was meant to be the strongest incentive. But, as often happens in cases of reaction, he went too far. While ascribing in so many words, the whole process of salvation to the prevenient, or efficient, grace of God, he so harps upon the call for strenuous and incessant toil that practically he makes salvation an entirely human achievement, and to the end a precarious one. I have often thought in reading some parts of the book that its motto might well be : "How hard it is to enter into the kingdom of heaven !" and have wondered if the effect of its perpetual urgency upon simple Christian souls was not inevitably to encourage a feeling of despair. Let me cite one example of my meaning. In Part III he has a chapter (vi.) entitled "An Exhortation to the Greatest Seriousness in Seeking Rest," and this is supported by "twenty lively rational considerations to quicken us to the greatest obligation that is possible" ; then by "ten more very quickening considerations" ; then by "ten more very quickening by way of question" ; finally by "ten

¹ Published a year before the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*.

² "I confess I am an unreconcilable Enemy to their" (Antinomian) "doctrines ; and so let them take me. I had as lieve tell them so as hide it. The more I pray God to illuminate me in these things, the more am I animated against them. The more I search after the truth in my studies the more I dislike them. The more I read their own books the more do I see the vanity of their conceits. But above all, when I do but open the Bible I can seldom meet with a leaf that is not against them" (*Confession of his Faith* (1655), p. 5).

more peculiar to the godly to quicken them". Following this is a chapter (vii.) "persuading all men to try their title to this Rest, and directing them in this trial". Hereupon he proceeds to open and expound "the nature of assurance or certainty of salvation". Further, he shows "how much, and what, the spirit doth to the producing it; and what Scripture, what Knowledge, what Faith, what Holiness and Evidences, what Conscience and internal sense, and what Reason or Discourse do in the work". Last, comes a chapter, 43¹ pages in length, which is occupied with "a more exact enquiry into the nature of sincerity"; and Directions—twelve or more—concerning the use of marks in self-examination; and a "Discovery" how far a man may go and not be saved. In the first section of this chapter he tells the reader that he himself, as a young Christian, lay in doubt and perplexity with regard to his sincerity for seven years; and that what he is about to say has been tested in his own experience. And certainly he says not a little that is helpful, while the last summarizing paragraphs are no less wholesome than true. But the reader asks: Why, O why, was he not content with the summary; ² why did he think it necessary to argue and urge the matter in a way so sure to harass any sensitive and humble soul that might strive to follow his guidance?

A similar feeling springs up after reading in Part IV his rules for meditation. To himself meditation had grown to be "the delightfulest task . . . that ever men on earth were employed in". He

¹ In the tenth edition. It is 53 in the (less closely printed) fourth edition.

² Thus, the pith of it all is in the following:—

Pt. III, chap. viii. § 9. "Grace is never apparent and sensible to the Soul but while it is in Action. Therefore, want of Action must needs cause want of Assurance. . . . The fire that lieth still in the flint is neither seen nor felt, but when you smite it and force it into Act, it is easily discerned. . . . It is so with our graces. . . . Thou now knowest not whether thou have Repentance, or Faith, or Love, or Joy: why be more in the Acting of these and you will easily know it. . . . You may go seeking for the Hare or Partridge many hours, and never finde them while they lie close and stir not, but when once the Hare betakes himself to his legs, and the Bird to her wings, then you see them presently. So long as the Christian hath his Graces in lively Action, so long, for the most part, he is assured of them. How can you doubt that you love God in the Act of Loving? Or, whether you believe in the very Act of Believing? If, therefore, you would be assured, whether this sacred fire be kindled in your hearts, blow it up; get it into a flame and then you will know. Believe till you feel that you do believe; and Love till you feel that you Love."

would fain, therefore, win others to the use and enjoyment of it. But he conceives it, also, as an imperative duty. Indeed, its duty rather than its delight becomes the burden of his discourse. "Christians, I beseech you, as you take me for your Teacher, and have called me hitherto, so hearken to this Doctrin. If ever I shall prevail with you in anything let me prevail with you in this—to set your hearts where you expect a Rest and Treasure. Do you not remember that when you called me to be your Teacher, you promised me under your hands, that you would faithfully and conscionably endeavor the receiving every truth, and obeying every command, which I should from the Word of God manifest to you? I now charge your promise upon you; I never delivered to you a more apparent Truth, nor prest upon you, a more apparent duty then this."¹

Much that he goes on to say is excellent. Nothing better, as a guide to spiritual self-discipline has, I think, ever been written. But, *suo modo*, it is overdone. Whoever might set himself to perform the duty as Baxter sets it forth could not fail to faint and grow weary.² At a later time he came partially to see this. For in 1670, Mr. Giles Firmin, "a worthy minister that had lived in New England" (*R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 74), wrote a book in which he objected that Baxter screwed "weak ones too high in this duty of meditation".³ Baxter took it well—describes it as a "gentle reproof"—and admitted that it was not wholly undeserved. In his reply to Firmin he says: "I find, what long ago I found, that I was to blame that I observed no more the weakness and danger of melancholy persons when I first wrote it" (the *Saints' Rest*); "and that I was not more large in disswading them from taking that to be their work which they cannot do. For I believe I have spoken with farre more then ever this Reverend Brother hath done (though he be a Physician) who have been disabled by Melancholy and other weakness of brain from this work: which made me so oft since give them such warning" (p. 27). So "I now add more particularly (lest I should injure any) that I take it (1) not to be the duty of a minister to leave his necessary Study, Preaching,

¹ *S.E.R.*, Pt. IV, chap. iii. § 2.

² See, e.g., Pt. IV, chap. xiii. "The abstract or sum of all for the sake of the weak," § 1.

³ *The Duty of Heavenly Meditation* reviewed by R. B. at the invitation of Mr. G. Firmin's Exceptions in his book entitled *The Real Christian*, 1671.

Prayer, etc., for this set meditation ; (2) nor for a magistrate to leave his necessary work of Government for it ; (3) nor for any man in active life to leave a necessary duty of his place for it ; (4) nor for any weak persons to stretch their braines beyond their abilitie to do what they cannot do. Greatest Duties must be preferred ; and men must endeavour prudently according to their capacity and power. And God will have mercy and not sacrifice."

This, of course, does not imply any yielding on Baxter's part as to the substance of what he had said ; but does qualify it with a dose of good sense.¹

We are not concerned here with Baxter's theology. I question, indeed, if his theology—at any rate as regards its bearing on the life to come—can any longer interest the modern mind. Our general attitude and outlook have so much changed. But it is relevant to note some signs of its influence on later developments.

1. His reiterated insistence on man's part in the work of salvation, and especially on the necessity of obedience to the Christian moral law, had much to do with the rapid decline of Antinomianism ; and with the growth of that "moralism" which took its place. As regards the latter, it is probable that Baxter would have been sorry to own any responsibility. But as regards the former he knew it and rejoiced. Writing about 1664 he says : "This sect of the Antinomians was so suddenly almost extinct that now they little appear and make no noise among us at all nor have done these many years". He ascribes its decline largely to the effect of his "controversial writings," but I am disposed to think that the stringent ethical temper of the *Saints' Rest* did even more. For a temper is more infectious than an argument ; and, moreover, for the scores who read the arguments there were hundreds who read the *Saints' Rest*.

2. The same ethical stringency, with its implied recognition of man's free power of choice, was of no small consequence in dissolving the current type of Calvinism. There are, indeed, places in the book where the language is Calvinistic enough to satisfy the most severe. The people of God (he asks)—who are they ?

"They are a small part of lost mankinde whom God hath from Eternity predestinated to this Rest, for the glory of His Mercey ; and

¹ Firmin wrote "a weak reply" which Baxter thought "not worthy of a rejoinder" (*R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 104).

given to his Son to be by him in a special manner Redeemed, and fully recovered from their lost estate, and advanced to this higher Glory ; all which, Christ doth in due time accomplish, accordingly, by himself for them, by his Spirit upon them.¹

But the mental attitude which inspired his preaching took no account at all of such doctrine. He addressed men from first to last as, somehow, masters of their fate. If he harboured any real doubt of this, the greater portion of the book is more than meaningless—it is a grotesque impertinence. Nay, it is a ghastly exhibition of make-believe. But he had no doubt. His Calvinism was a theory which the logical part of him did not permit him to deny in so many words, but his conscience asserted the contrary with irresistible vehemence. His real voice may be heard in such words as these : “ If we are drawn by natural operations as by ropes, like things that have no life, then it is in vain to talk of Voluntary and Involuntary ; nor do I understand that to be a living creature whose power of Desire is subject to Destiny ”. And he supports himself on Clement of Alexandria who had said : “ But for us who have learned from the Scripture that God hath given men to choose and avoid things by a Free and Absolute power, let us rest in the Judgment of Faith which cannot be moved or fail us : manifesting a cheerful and ready spirit because we have chosen life ”.²

Here we may see the position which earned for him the name of Baxterian—a position accepted by many of the later Puritans, especially those of the Presbyterian tradition, and through them by a majority of the eighteenth century Nonconformists as well as many Churchmen. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it approximates to the position of most thoughtful Christians at the present day.

3. The *Saints' Rest*, strange to say, discloses Baxter as, in no uncertain sense, a Rationalist. Thus, the opening sentences of Pt. III, are these :—

“ Whatsoever the Soul of man doth entertain must make its first entrance at the understanding ; which must be satisfied, first, of its Truth, and secondly of its goodness, before it find any further admittance. If this porter be negligent, it will admit of anything that bears but the face or name of Truth and goodness ; but if it be faithful and diligent in its office, it will examine strictly and search to the quick.

¹ *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. viii. § 1.

² *Id.*, Pt. III, chap. ii. § 12 margin.

What is found deceitful, it casteth out, that it go no further ; but what is found to be sincere and currant, it letteth into the very heart, where the Will and Affections do with welcome entertain it, and by concoction (as it were) incorporate it into its own substance."¹

This describes his uniform standpoint. He professes to believe nothing until it has passed the test of Reason, or understanding. He is not happy (in the first Pt., chap. vi.) until he has established that "this Rest tried by nine Rules in Philosophy or Reason" is "found by all to be the most excellent State in general"; nor is he content (in Pt. IV), until he has shown, to his own satisfaction, that Reason accords with all he says concerning the practice of meditation ; and in Pt. II, his single aim is to demonstrate the rationality of his thesis, that Scripture is the Word of God. It is true that Reason, having done this, on a basis of external evidence, at once retires into the background. "I will believe anything in the world which I know certainly that God speaks or Revealeth : though the thing itself be ever so unreasonable. For I have Reason to believe (or rather to know) that all is True which God revealeth how improbable so ever to flesh and blood" (Preface to Pt. II). Hence it became easy for him to accept, e.g. all the Biblical miracles, and the popular belief in witchcraft. Biblical sanction, in each case, was final. But still his genuine respect for Reason was such as could lead him to say : "He that hath the best and rightest Reason, and by consideration maketh the most use of it, is the best Christian and doth God best service ; and all sin is . . . for want of right reason and using it by consideration".² Accordingly, he felt himself free to indulge a drastic criticism of those who fetched materials for their creed from (so-called) authorities outside the Bible. Repudiating all such authorities, he would require no more from any man than to subscribe the Bible as it stands and as a whole. "Two things have set the Church on fire, and been the plagues of it above one thousand years : (1) Enlarging our Creed and making more fundamentals than ever God made ; (2) composing (and so imposing) our Creeds and Confessions in our own words and phrases.

"When Men have learned more manners and humility than to accuse God's language as too general and obscure (as if they could mend it) and have more dread of God and compassion on themselves, then

¹ *S.E.R.*, Pt. III, chap. i. § 1.

² Pt. II, Preface.

to make those to be Fundamentals, or certainties, which God never made so ; and when they reduce their Confessions (1) to their due extent, and (2) to Scripture phrase (that Dissenters may not scruple subscribing) then, and (I think) never till then, shall the Church have Peace about Doctrinals."¹

This drew upon him, as it did upon Chillingworth, a charge of Socinianism. It was, indeed, by no means the attitude of the "orthodox," who took it for a sign of grace to receive without question the whole sum of traditional faith (so far as Protestant) including the Bible itself. And the frequency with which Baxter is quoted, as against such an attitude, by the theological progressives of the next generation, particularly the Arians, is proof of his influence in promoting that rationalistic movement whose issue went far beyond what he intended, or would have approved.

II

We will now turn to the book itself. The first edition was licensed for publication on 15 January, 1649-50, by Rev. Joseph Caryl, and was printed in London by Rob. White for Thomas Underhil and Francis Tyton. It bears the title, which later editions repeated without change, "The—*Saints' Everlasting Rest*—or, a—Treatise—of the Blessed State of the Saints—in their enjoyment of God in Glory—Wherein is showed its Excellency and Certainty—the Misery of those that lose it, the way to Attain it—and Assurance of it ; and how to live in the continual—delightful Forecasts of it, by the help of Meditation.

"Written by the Author for his own use, in the—time of his languishing, when God took him off—from all Publike Employment ; and afterwards—Preached in his weekly Lecture—and now published by *Richard Baxter*, Teacher—of the Church of *Kedderminster* in *Worcestershire*."²

¹ *Saints' Rest*, Pt. II, Preface.

² Then, the texts Ps. lxxiii. 16 ; 1 Cor. xv. 19 ; Col. iii. 2, 3, 4 ; John xiv. 19. *London*, printed for *Thomas Underhill* and *Francis Tyton*, and are to be sold at the Blue Anchor and Bible in *Paul's Churchyard*, near the little North-Door, and at the three Daggers in Fleet Street, in the Inner Temple Gate, 1650. "Baxter's copy of the *Saints' Rest* with his inscription is a treasured possession of the Corporation of our Town. It lies in

There is a dedication of the whole "to my dearly beloved Friends, the Inhabitants of the Burrough and Forreign¹ of Kidderminster—a very tender, grateful and candid utterance." The work consists of four parts, and each part has its separate dedication; the first to Sir Thomas Rous, Bt., with the Lady Jane Rous his wife, of Rous Lench, about ten miles East of Worcester; the second, "to my Dearly beloved Friends, the inhabitants of Bridgnorth, both Magistrates and People" . . . "in testimony of my unfeigned love to them who were the first to whom I was sent to publish the Gospel"; the third "to my Dearly beloved Friends—the Inhabitants of the City of Coventry, both Magistrates and People, especially Coll. John Barker, and Coll. Thomas Willoughby, late Governours, with all the Officers and Souldiers of their Garrison"; the fourth "to my dearly beloved Friends in the Lord, the inhabitants of the Town of Shrewsbury, both magistrates, ministers, and People, as also of the Neighbouring Parts". . . . "As a testimony of his Love to his Native Soyl, And to his many Godly and Faithful Friends there living."

In one place² he tells us how the book grew into four parts. After treating of the nature, character, and excellencies of the *Saints' Rest*, in the first part, he reflected that the Saints too commonly are indifferent to their great inheritance. Hence he went on to write what became Pt. IV—consisting of a "Directory" "to the Delightful Habit of Contemplation". It begins properly with chap. iii., but to clear the ground he "premised" chap. i.—"Reproving our Expectations of Rest on Earth," and chap. ii.—"Reproving our Unwillingness to Die". Then, when the work seemed complete, it struck him that he had overlooked the most radical cause of indifference to a future life, viz.: "A secret, lurking, unbelief in its reality". He remembered that he himself had "oft suffered" by "assaults" "in that point"; and that his own doubts had ebbed and flowed according to the measure of his faith in the divine authority of the Scriptures. So he proceeded to write Part II which advances reasons for accepting.

the Mayor's Parlour with the ancient Deeds and Parchments of the Borough, preserved in a large Glass Case."—Note by Mr. William F. Baillie, of the Free Library, Kidderminster.

¹ "Foreign" is still in use as a term for a part of the parish which lies outside the Borough—and so to some extent outside its control. If this carries with it certain drawbacks it means (or meant) lower rates!

² The Premonition.

the Bible as an infallible Revelation (*inter alia*) of man's immortality. The third part was added last—though in time for the first edition: "the four first Chapters for the use of sensual and secure sinners, if any of them should happen to read this book; the last three for the godly, to direct and comfort them in affliction, and specially to persuade them to the great duty of helping to save their brethrens' souls; the seven middle Chapters for the use both of the Godly and the ungodly, as being of unspeakable concernment to all".

Thus, strictly speaking, the book is not one book but four. Moreover, within each of the four—particularly Pt. III—there are what amount to separate Treatises on such subjects as the doctrine of Justification and Sincerity, and the sufferings of the lost. All these digressions from his main theme seemed to Baxter to have some important bearing upon it; and several of them are, indeed, among the most interesting things in the volume. But they constrain one to share his own regret that he had missed the discipline of a regular University training. Undue, and not seldom unbounded, discursiveness was always his chief literary fault—a fault which the firm hand of some severe and competent tutor in his early years might have cured, or, at least, checked. As it was, the fault grew upon him increasingly, just because he appears to have been unconscious of it.

Baxter also informs us as to when and where the several parts¹ were written. During the siege of Worcester in the late spring and early summer of 1646, he was quartered at Rous Lench—a happy time, varied by a brief visit to Kidderminster. Then when his regiment removed into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire he went with it. By the time he reached Derbyshire winter had come

¹ Each part has its own title-page.

Thus: (2) *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*—the Second Part—containing the Proofs of the Truth and certain futurity of our Rest, and that the Scripture, promising that Rest to us, is the perfect infallible Word and Law of God.

(3) *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*—the Third Part—containing Several Uses of the former Doctrine of Rest.

(4) *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*—the Fourth Part—containing a Directory for the getting and keeping of the Heart in Heaven: by the Diligent Practice of that Excellent unknown Duty of Heavenly Meditation. Being the main thing intended by the Author, in the writing of this Book; and to which all the rest is but Subservient.

on ; and " at Melbourne¹ in the edge of Derbyshire," the " cold and snowy " weather proved too much for him. He fell ill. His wish was to get home (i.e. to Kidderminster) : for he was among strangers ; but weakness forced him to stay. At the end of three weeks, however, he managed to reach Mr. Nowell's² house at Kirby-Mallory in Leicestershire, " where with great kindness he was entertained " another three weeks. By that time Lady Rous had heard of his condition and insisted upon his being removed to Rous Lench. Here, by dint of " the greatest care and tenderness," he gradually regained some strength ; and, after three months, made his way home. As to the *Saints' Rest*, he began it at Sir John Cook's ; continued it at Mr. Nowell's ; " bestowed upon it all the time he could at Rous Lench ; and finished it shortly after at Kidderminster." This is Baxter's own statement. More precisely, it can be said that Parts I, II, and IV were finished at Rous Lench ; and that what he added at Kidderminster was a portion of Part III.³ His dedicatory letter to Sir Thomas and Lady Rous⁴ breathes warm gratitude but no flattery.

¹ Melbourne Hall was the seat of Sir John Coke (Cooke), son of the Sir John who had been " Secretary of State in King James the First's " time. He succeeded his father in 1643 and died at Paris in 1650. A descendant, Charlotte Cooke (Coke), was the mother of Sir Peniston Lambe, Bart., created Baron Melbourne of Kilmore, May, 1770 (see Nichol's *History of Leicestershire*, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 783 ff.).

² This would be Verney Noel (Nowell) " the second but eldest surviving son " of William Noel (*d.* 25 March, 1641). He " was advanced in the dignity of a Baronet on 6 July, 1660 " ; and died in 1669. His younger brother, Andrew of Congeston, Leicestershire, married a " daughter of Sir Rous of Rous Lench ". There was thus a connexion between the Rous and the Noel families—which might explain how Lady Rous came to hear of Baxter's condition as well as Mr. Nowell's " great kindness " (see Nichol's *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 766).

³ We know for certain that Part IV came next after Part I (of which he speaks in the Introduction as " the former part ").

Further, we learn from a Preface " to the Reader," which stood before the first edition of Part II, that this was written " where he had not the benefit of a Library " (meaning his own).

Hence Part II was written at Rous Lench, and so, therefore, was Part IV.

This bears out what Baxter says that " almost all the Book was written when I had no Book but a Bible and a Concordance " (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 108).

⁴ The ancestral home of these Puritan gentlefolk stood near the top of the hill on which Rous village is situated ; and is described as " ancient,

"In your house," he says, "I found an Hospital, a Physician, a Nurse, and real Friends, and (which is more than all) daily and importunate Prayer for my Recovery, and since I went from you kindnesses have still followed me in abundance. Such behaviour towards a mere Stranger called for all his gratitude and had it." But he goes on to add: "The best return I can make of your love is in commending this Heavenly duty to your Practice; wherein I must entreat you to be the more diligent and unwearyed, because as you may take more time for it then the poor can do, so have you far stronger temptations to divert you; it being extremely difficult for those that have fullness of all things here, to place their happiness really in another life, and to set their hearts there as the place of their Rest—which yet must be done by all that will be saved. Study Luke xii. 16-22, and xvi. 19-25; Matt. vi. 21."

In one thing Baxter never fell short, viz. sincerity.

So far the first edition. For the second Baxter wrote what he called "a Premonition,"¹ dated 17 May, 1651. Instead of the comparatively short address "to the Reader," which preceded Part II, he wrote an elaborate essay by way of confuting "Unbelievers, Antiscripturists, and Papists"; or establishing "the Orthodox".

Some passages which had given offence "by touching on the late publike quarrels"² he modified. A chapter (the ninth), which he had "forgotten," was added to Part II. Another chapter, the lengthy one about the "Nature of Sincerity," was added to Part III. Many slighter alterations were also made, especially in Parts I and II; and the few quotations from memory, and the Bible, which he had put into the margin of the first edition were supplemented—in a few instances

large, and built round a court" (Nash's *Worcestershire*, Vol. II, pp. 84, 85).

Lench is said to be a salt-mining term and to mean a shelf of rock. There is a bunch of Lenches in the same district.

Sir Thomas was Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1654 (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 110).

- ¹ This relates (1) the alterations and additions to the second edition;
 (2) the method of the book;
 (3) some objections which had been made against it;
 (4) its main design.

² There are several of these, but the chief, I think, may be found in § 13 of chap. vii. Pt. I, where the changes as compared with the first edition are very curious.

replaced—by a crowd of exact citations from many scores of authors.”¹ These vividly evidence the range and variety of his reading. In particular, they indicate a close acquaintance with the “Fathers”—Cyprian, Tertullian, Augustine, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius; a decided preference for Augustine and Clement; a facile knowledge of mediæval scholastic writers, including Thomas Aquinas, and of the more recent Protestant theologians; strangest of all, an ardent admiration of Seneca whom he quotes at every turn. Of pure literature one could hardly expect any trace; nor is it probable that Baxter ever read much outside theology. But he appreciated George Herbert and closes the whole work with one of his poems besides quoting him several times in the text.

After the second edition the changes introduced were, on the whole, few and slight. An exception² to this is an addition to the eleventh

¹ Of these he says (Premonition):—

“I have added many Marginal quotations, especially of the Ancients: which though some may conceive to be useless, and others to be merely for vain ostentation, yet I conceived useful both for the sweetness of the matter (concerning which I refer you to the perusal: to me it seemed so in the Reading) as also to free myself from the charge of singularity.”

I have counted quotations from at least 150 writers. Henry Stubbs (“Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause”—1659) calls Baxter a “Retailer of other men’s learning and Quoter of Quotations” (p. 43); and speaks contemptuously of his learning; of Hebrew he knew about as much as he could acquire by “two or three days’ study”; he wrote “false Latine” as John Husse was accused of doing, and if Husse deserved to burn for it so did Baxter; and he knew little or nothing of Greek (pp. 17-18, 34). This last charge was perhaps near the truth. For I notice that he quotes Clement of Alexandria in an English translation, and that when he has occasion to quote what Socrates said “being near death” he does so from Cicero (*Apud Platonem, Cicerone interprete*,” Pt. II, Preface).

² Another exception occurs in the fourth edition (1653), Part I, chap. viii. § 2.

Here is inserted a note (of two pages) which begins:—

“Reader, understand that since I wrote this I begin to doubt of the soundness of what is expressed in the four next foregoing pages—which I am not ashamed to acknowledge, but ashamed that I published it so rashly.” He has been brought at least to a partial change of mind; and this note is added “to let you know that I would not have you take these two leaves as my judgement, and herein to let you see how unsafe is it for Ministers to be too bold and confident in such unsearchable difficulties, and how unsafe for private Christians to build too much on men’s judgement in such points, which further knowledge may cause them to retract.”

The question at issue (whether Regeneration, effectual Vocation, and

chapter of Part III, first made at the end of the fifth edition (1654), and a further addition to this in the form of an address to the Reader at the end of the 7th edition (dated 15 Jan., 1657). The most interesting change is one which, I think, is generally known. In the 1st edition, p. 86, Baxter wrote :—

"I think Christian, this will be a more honourable Assembly then you ever here beheld ; and a more happy society than you were ever of before. Surely Brooke and Pim and Hambden and White, etc., are now members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right ayming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant Senate then this from which they are taken is, or ever Parliament will be. It is better to be a doorkeeper to that Assembly whether Twisse, etc., are translated then to have continued here the Moderator of this. That is the true *Parliamentum Beatum*, the Blessed Parliament, and that is the only Church that cannot erre."

"In all Impressions of the Book" subsequent to 1659 (i.e. in the 9th edition (1662) and onwards) the names of the Lord Brooke, Pim, and Hambden were blotted out, "not," says Baxter, "as changing my judgment of the persons," but as perceiving "the need" "of taking away" something which certain men "might stumble at".¹ For John

Sanctification are all one thing) is of no interest to us ; but the note well illustrates the writer's careful sincerity, modesty, and open-mindedness. In the same section there is another long passage against Baptismal Regeneration which he afterwards omitted.

To the 7th edition (1658) and the following is prefixed an engraved hierographic title-page.

¹ *R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 177. He actually omitted the whole of the passage as just quoted. But this did not save him from the sort of gentry he had in mind. Writing about 1677 he says : "In June, 1676, Mr. Jane, the Bishop of London's Chaplain, Preaching to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, turned his Sermon against Calvin and Me ; and My charge was *That I had sent as bad men to Heaven as some that be in Hell*, because in my book I had said that I thought of Heaven with the more pleasure because I should meet there with *Peter, Paul, Austin, Chrysostom, Jerom, Wickliff, Luther, Zuingline, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchy, Paræus, Piscator, Hooper, Bradford, Latimer, Glover, Sanders, Philpot, Reignolds, Whitaker, Cartwright, Bayne, Bradshaw, Bolton, Ball, Hildersham, Pemble, Twisse, Ames, Preston, Sibbs, Brook, Pim, Hambden.*

"Which of these the Man knew to be in Hell I cannot conjecture : it's like those that differed from him in judgment." It might have occurred to Baxter that his list, consisting of those with whom he agreed, exposed him to suspicion of a similar onesidedness *by its omissions.*

Hampden especially he retained the profoundest esteem—a man “that Friends and Enemies acknowledged to be most Eminent for Prudence, Piety, and Peaceable Counsels”.

I have already said that the *Saints' Rest* could have no chance of becoming popular in the same degree as *Pilgrim's Progress*. Its size alone stood in the way. Yet *Pilgrim's Progress* with its 11th edition in 1688, ten years after the 1st, is run pretty close by the *Saints' Rest* with its twelve editions before the author's death in 1691. How many copies went to an edition is not easy to say; but it would seem that the number was not less than 1500¹—which means a circulation of 18,000 for the twelve editions: surely a remarkable phenomenon. It is significant that the first eight editions came out at the rate almost of one a year. These years (1650-59) cover the period when the Puritan spirit, which the book so powerfully expresses, was in the ascendant. The 9th edition appeared in 1662—three years after the 8th, years of Puritan decline. The 10th did not appear till 1669. The 11th is dated 1671; while the 12th, dated 1688, seventeen years later, marks a very slow sale. Evidently the book was ceasing to attract the religious public. In fact, as we know, the religious public had reached the point of caring but little for religion in Baxter's sense of the word, i.e. in the sense of an inward, spiritual, unworldly life. Religion by 1688 had become, largely, another name for ecclesiastical or doctrinal formalism. The chilling régime of Deism had set in. Religion as something divine in man was discredited, and dubbed enthusiasm. No wonder, therefore, if disgust was taken at what would be felt as the high-pitched enthusiasm of the *Saints' Rest*. I can adduce no concrete proof; but I should say that the book, in its complete form, found few, if any, readers—or at least buyers—after 1690.²

¹ See *infra.*, note on p. 477.

² Baxter says (*R.B.* Pt. I, p. 115) that its “success” went “beyond all the rest” of his writings, not excepting his *Call to the Unconverted*, of which “about 20,000” copies were printed “in a little more than a year”. He is referring, of course, to its influence, not its sale. Of its influence in particular cases, the Rev. Benjamin Fawcett, writing in 1758, cites some illustrations from the period previous to that year (see Preface to his edition). Dr. Grosart adds to these the case of the Duke of Wellington whose copy of the *Saints' Rest* was shown to him a short time after the Duke's death, “with a corner of a leaf turned down to mark the place where the great

Not only its theme but its handling of the theme, tended to kill its influence. Anyhow, it is a fact that there is scarcely a traceable mention of it between 1690 and 1754, by which time the Methodist movement was in full swing, and had revived a state of mind to which the book was once more congenial. Indeed, it was John Wesley himself who recalled attention to it. Among the many monuments of that great man's industry not the least marvellous is what he named a "Christian Library," consisting of copious extracts from Christian writers; or, in some cases, complete reprints of particular works. His range of selection was dictated by nothing more narrow than the fitness of a writing to promote Christian life or faith, and is a striking testimony to Wesley's catholic sympathy¹ as well as to his richly cultivated literary taste. It may serve to remind us that there were two John Wesleys, the fervent Evangelist and the ardent Scholar. The two might seem to be incompatible; but the "Christian Library" shows that in him as in Paul, and many another, fervent religion can be a reasonable service. So it is not surprising that he devoted a volume to Baxter. If you consult the first edition of the Library, extending to fifty volumes, it is Vol. 37. This comprises 442 pages and is all taken from the *Saints' Rest* [including most of the General Dedication, the first six chapters of Pt. I (with the conclusion), the first twelve chapters of Pt. III, and

Soldier had 'left off' on departing for Walmer Castle" (*Annotated List of Baxter's Writings*, p. 10).

Readers of George Eliot may recall her reference in *The Mill on the Floss* (chap. xii.): "Mrs. Glegg walked across the room to the small book-case, and took down Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, which she carried with her upstairs. It was the book she was accustomed to lay open before her on special occasions: on wet Sunday mornings, or when she heard of a death in the family, or when, as in this case, her quarrel with Mr. Glegg had been set an octave higher than usual." Had its mere presence (like that of the Bible) come to have the effect on some minds of a spiritual stimulant, or sedative? Apparently Mrs. Glegg did not read it.

¹ It is a pleasure to quote the following from Wesley's Preface to Samuel Clark's *Lives* (Vol. 15 in Christian Library Edition, 1822). "§ 4. Perhaps it may be useful as well as agreeable to those who have broken loose from that miserable bigotry which is too often entailed upon us from our forefathers, to observe how the same spirit works the same work of grace in men upright of heart, of whatever denomination. These, how widely soever they differ in opinion, all agree in one mind, one temper. How far distant soever they are from one another with regard to the circumstances of worship, they all meet in the substance of all true worship—the faith that worketh by love."

the first ten of Pt. IV (with conclusions)]. The omissions are of those portions which to Wesley might appear irrelevant, or too personal, or of transient interest.

From a similar standpoint was made that abridgment which has had the greatest vogue ; and, indeed, has been the only form of the *Saints' Rest* known to most people. It was made by the Rev. Benjamin Fawcett, minister of the Nonconformist Church of Kidderminster at a period when that Church could claim to be the single historical representative of Baxter in the town.

Its preface is dated Kidderminster, 25 December, 1758, and Mr. Fawcett's account of it is as follows : "In reducing it to this smaller size I have been very desirous to do justice to the author, and at the same time promote the pleasure and profit of the serious reader. And, I hope, these ends are in some measure answered ; chiefly by dropping things of a digressive, controversial, or metaphysical nature ; together with prefaces, dedications, and various allusions to some peculiar circumstances of the last age ; and particularly by throwing several chapters into one, that the number of them may better correspond with the size of the volume ; and sometimes by altering the form, but not the sense, of a period, for the sake of brevity ; and when an obsolete phrase occurred, changing it for one more common and intelligible.

"I should never have thought of attempting this work if it had not been suggested and urged by others, and by some very respectable names, of whose learning, judgment, and piety I forbear to avail myself. However defective this performance may appear, the labour of it (if it may be called labour) has been, I bless God, one of the most delightful labours of my life." The first edition (of date 1 January, 1759) names Salop (Shrewsbury) as the place where it was printed—by J. Colton and I. Eddowes ; and it was to be "sold by J. Buckland at the Buck in Paternoster Row ; T. Field at the Wheatsheaf, the Corner of Paternoster Row, Cheapside ; and E. Oilly at the Rose and Crown in the Poultry, London".¹

¹ Kidderminster, as a place of sale, is not mentioned. On the title-page is a quotation from Baxter's Preface to Scudder's *Christian's Daily Walk* : "I think it of great Service to the Souls of Men to call them to the Notice and Use of such a Treatise as this, and to bring such old and excellent writings out of Oblivion and the Dust."

The effect of Mr. Fawcett's enterprise was to give the *Saints' Rest* a new lease of life on an extended scale. A 13th edition, issued by W. Baynes, 54 Paternoster Row in 1814,¹ is a sign of this. Ten years later, 1824,² Fawcett's version formed Vol. I of a series entitled "Select Christian Authors" which was published at Edinburgh. It had the distinction of being introduced by an Essay from the pen of Thomas Erskine, Esq., advocate—better known as Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, the saintly layman who did so much to enlighten and sweeten the Scottish Evangelical mind of his day. The Essay is appreciative, but by no means unqualified in its praise. Baxter's limitation of Free Grace, and dilation on the sufferings of the lost were points, especially, which Erskine, author of *The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel*, was sure to dislike. Whether by the merit of Baxter's thoughts, or Erskine's Essay, or both, one cannot say; but the volume commended itself so far as to reach a 5th edition in five years, i.e. in 1829. Then, in that year, a further edition of Fawcett appeared in Manchester—the printers and publishers being R. & J. Gleave, top of Market St., and No. 191 Deansgate. Also, in the same year, an abridgment of *Fawcett* came out from Fisher, Son & Jackson, London.³ Its editor was Isaac Crewdson, who signs the preface "Ardwick, Manchester"; and says "he has been induced to present this compendium to the public, in the hope that, being reduced to a smaller compass, it may find its way into a still wider circle." The hope was fulfilled: for by 1838 it had run into its 33rd thousand

¹ Eighth edition, 1803; 9th (corrected) 1807; 11th, 1810.

Edition 13 is also said to be "corrected," and there is a quotation from W. Wilberforce, M.P., which is called a "Recommendation". It has no exclusive reference to the *Saints' Rest*, but commends this, and Baxter's Practical Works generally. The corrections seem to be chiefly verbal. Another edition, "printed for the Book Society for promoting Religious Knowledge, and sold at their depositary, No. 19 Paternoster Row," has no date.

² A new edition of (Fawcett?) appeared at *Romsey*, 1816, another at *Derby*, 1819. (These I have not seen.)

³ In 1838 the publishers were "Harvey & Darton: Darton & Clark London; and G. Simms and W. Ellerby, Manchester".

Here may be mentioned "Selections from Jeremy Taylor, Whole Duty of Man, Baxter, Lord Bacon, and Clarendon," by Edward S. Bosanquet, "Plaistow, 30 March, 1840".

Next to Jeremy Taylor, Baxter is given the most space, and the Selections are, I think, all taken from the *Saints' Rest*.

and an 11th edition.¹ But the unabridged Fawcett still held its own ; and, in 1856, found a new publisher in T. Nelson & Sons. Perhaps this is the edition which has sold more widely than any other—unless we except the one published by Scott & Webster, Charterhouse Square, London, in their “English Classic Library.” Then, in 1866, Wm. Tegg, London, published the original with a preliminary Essay by John Morison, D.D. Pt. II is curtailed and the General Dedication omitted ; otherwise it is the complete book. Complete, in about the same degree, is the edition, in two volumes, published by Griffith, Farran, Oxenden & Welsh, in their “Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature (1887)”. Less complete is an edition by William Young, B.A., of which the preface is signed 7 August, 1907, Bramhall, Cheshire. This exists in two forms—one published by E. Grant Richards, London, beautifully printed with a vellum back (brown) and stiff paper (grey) boards ;² the other a reprint by the Religious Tract Society without date. It omits chapter viii. in Part I, chapters i.-vii. in Part II ; the whole of Part III, chapters iv., vii., ix. in Part IV ; also, the General Dedication—except one passage ; the Premonition ; and the long Preface to Part II.

“The present edition,” says Mr. Young, “is unlike any other

¹ In the “advertisement” to this edition it is said : “As the Editor seeks no pecuniary emolument from this work, but issues it solely for the sake of promoting the best interests of his fellow-men ; and, as he believes it may be read with advantage by all classes of the community, he feels bold to solicit those who unite in this view to aid in its circulation . . . anyone inclined to print this work may apply to the editor for the use of the stereotype Plates.

“The prices are—Boards 1s. each ; for 50 copies, 11d. each.

	„ 100	„ 10d.	„
Cloth 1s. 3d. „	„ 50	„ 1s. 2d. each,	
	„ 100	„ 1s. 1d.	„

French editions of Crewdson appeared as follows :—

Baxter (Richard). *Le repos éternel des saints* [Crewdson]. Presbyterian Board.

— *Le repos éternel des saints* . . . Abrégé par I. Crewdson. Traduit sur la 5^e édition.

Paris, J. J. Risler, 1833, 18mo, pp. 292.

— 2^e édition.

Paris, 1839, 18mo.

— [Another édition.]

Toulouse, Société des Livres Religieux, 1859, 18mo.

² An inset before the first page names the price, 7s. 6d. net.

which has been published ; and will, it is hoped, fill a place which has long been vacant. It has some features which ought to commend it to those who would like to see a great religious classic treated with the same consideration and scrupulous care as any other famous literary work." Yet it exhibits one or two strange mistakes. Thus, as if he had not seen the first edition, Mr. Young says that the second contained three *new* dedications. Again, he says that the 12th edition in 1688 was the first to appear with a portrait of the author taken in his fifty-fifth year, the fact being, as Dr. Grosart had pointed out,¹ that this portrait "is sometimes inserted" in the 11th edition of 1671 (or 1677). Once more, he says that editions, after the 12th, continued to appear at somewhat longer intervals—a fact of which no one else seems to be aware.

Besides these English editions I have met with a reprint of Fawcett's abridgment in Welsh by the Rev. Thomas Jones (dated 1790) ; also, with one in Gaelic by the Rev. John Forbes, minister of Sleat, dated "Mansa Slàit," 1862. But a more interesting edition is one belonging to the year 1797, and emanating from J. Chambers & Co., Aberdeen. It is a quarto volume, quite distinct from Fawcett's work ; and with a fairly full life of Baxter, along independent lines, by an anonymous hand. With comparatively slight omissions it includes the whole of the original,² and runs to 463 pages. The striking feature, however, is the list of subscribers, printed between the Dedication to Sir Thomas Rous and Part I. The list covers several pages in double columns and represents close upon a thousand copies.³ Here and there is an entry like this : Mr. Green, Methodist Preacher ; David Howie, Student ; Rev. Mr. Leith, Minister, Towie ; Rev. Mr. McBean, Alves ; Mr. Spence, Minister, Glenbucket. Or, an entry like this, George Miles, Bookseller, in Dundee, ninety-four copies. But not many required more than one copy ; and most of the subscribers were of the labouring or trading class. No one is designated "gentle-

¹ *Annotated Lists of Baxter's Writings*, p. 10.

² It has the General and Particular Dedications ; the Premonition.

Pt. I, chaps. i.-viii.

„ II, „ i.-x.

„ III, „ i.-xiv.

„ IV, the whole, including appendices.

³ The price is not given.

man".¹ Bearing in mind the date (1797), and the fact that it falls within the period when a strong evangelical movement was beginning to spread over Scotland, under the influence of the Haldanes,² this revival of interest in Baxter is explained. There may be other editions³ unknown to me, and I have said nothing about the circulation of the *Saints' Rest* in the Colonies or America because as yet I know nothing. But enough about its history has been presented, I think, to warrant the assertion that the book is not dead. In fact, I venture to say that, making full allowance for its outworn theology, so much of it is richly human, or sprang from an experience inspired of God, that it cannot wholly die. Its theology is not more antiquated than that of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost* or *Regained*; yet both these are alive because of elements in them which are vital. For a like reason the *Saints' Rest* is alive, although the vital elements may not be quite the same.

Baxter was an object of many slanderous reports—few more so—and one of these charged him with growing rich at the expense of his publishers. Nay, it said that the booksellers in order to make any profit out of his books had to sell them "at excessive rates". He was not content, it was alleged, with less than "a return" of £300 or £400 a year at least. The story seems to have been bruited first in

¹ The variety of occupation is remarkable—mason, weaver, tailor, shoemaker, sailmaker, merchant, gardener, butcher, reedmaker, ropemaker, sailor, vintner, hosier, corkcutter, tanner, flaxdresser, blacksmith, sawyer, woolcomber, brewer, clerk, schoolmaster, etc.

² James A. Haldane (1768-1851) began in 1797 to make extensive evangelistic tours over Scotland, preaching often to "large audiences".

³ An edition of Fawcett, printed at London, Edinburgh, and *New York* is dated 1856. Another is dated *Philadelphia*, 1828. One in German, "Die Ewige Ruhe der Heiligen," was issued at *New York* (1840?) (I have not met with these.) Extracts from the *Saints' Rest* of special sections have been printed at various times:—

- (a) "Address to Parents" (§§ 11-18, Pt. III), Birmingham (1855?).
- (b) "The Second Coming of Christ" (chap. v. Pt. I), with a brief Preface (and a hymn) by C. H. Spurgeon, 1858.
- (c) Pt. I, chap. vii., in "Light in the Valley of Death, or Considerations Fitted to Strengthen the Faith and Sustain the Mind of the Dying Believer," by Nevins, Baxter . . . Boston, and R. Erskine, Edinburgh, 1847.
- (d) "What is Heaven?" . . . from *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, first series of tracts (Nos. 545, 546), R.T.S., 1830?

1658, and in a Postscript to his *Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship* (of which the last word is "Finitur, 9 July, 1658") he deals with it in a very interesting statement. It is intended for "satisfaction to certain calumniators," and is dated 11 October, 1658. From this it appears:—

1. That he left his "two first Books" (*Aphorisms of Justification* and the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*) "to the Booksellers' will".

2. That for all the rest he received no payment in money, but only every fifteenth book of the whole edition. Sometimes the number thus set aside for him fell short of 100,¹ sometimes it amounted to a few more. These he took simply to give away. But they were insufficient for his purpose, since he sometimes wanted to give away as many as 800.² Because, therefore, he was "not rich enough to buy so many" he "agreed with the Bookseller" (his "neighbour" Nevil Simmons) "to allow 1s. 6d. a Ream (which is not a penny a quire) out of his own gain towards the buying of Bibles and some of the Practical books which he printed,"³ for the poor; covenanting with him that he should sell my Controversial Writings as cheap, and my Practical Writings somewhat cheaper than, books are ordinarily sold". Thus what payment he received was in books for free distribution—his own, or those of others.

3. "To this hour I never received for myself one penny of money from them" (the booksellers) "for any of my writings to the best of my remembrance; ⁴ but if it fell out that my part came to more than I gave my friends, I exchanged them for other Books". In short, he had never taken a penny of direct profit on his own account for any of his books. Surely an exceptional record among authors for disinterestedness!

4. He concludes: "And now censorious slanderer . . . that thou mayest have the utmost relief that I can procure thee for the time to come, I shall agree with my Booksellers to sell all that I publish at three farthings a sheet, and to print the price of every book at the bottom of the title-page".⁵

¹ Taking 100 as the average, this would indicate 1500 as the number for an edition.

² In the case of his "Practical Books".

³ Italics mine.

⁴ Confirmed, he says, by his "accounts".

⁵ This in fact was done. Incidentally he names the prices of his books (not, however, of the *Saints' Rest*) previous to 1658. He also tells the

But the slander lived on. In 1678—twenty years later—his Kidderminster publisher, Nevil Simmons, became bankrupt or, as Baxter puts it, “broke”; and had been driven to failure, it was said, because Baxter had “taken too much money for” his “books”—the old story—the fact being, on the contrary, that he had “freely given” Simmons (from time to time) “gains” exceeding £500, “if not above £1000” (*R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 182). Hereupon he wrote to an unnamed friend a yet fuller account of his practice in relation to publishers. Among other welcome items there is this: “as an act of meer kindness” he offered the *Saints’ Rest* to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton (London), leaving the matter of profit to themselves. “They gave” him “Ten pounds for the first Impression, and Ten pounds apiece, that is, Twenty pounds for every after Impression till 1665.” The ninth edition was reached in that year, which means that by then the book had brought him £170. After this he received nothing more, owing to Mr. Underhill’s death, the poverty of his widow, and Mr. Tyton’s losses in the fire of London (1666). Henceforth he bought, “out of his own purse,” every copy of the book which he “gave to any Friend or poor Person that asked it”. Then he repeats what has been noted above—viz. his rule of the fifteenth book for himself before 1658—and adds this: that, since the slander of that year, he had also taken 1s. 6d. for every Ream of the other fourteen. With part of the money, thus accruing, he had bought Bibles for poor families while he remained at Kidderminster—i.e. for two years, and had earmarked the rest for “charitable uses”. The total amount came to £300 or £400; and increased to £830 after his removal to London. At the time of writing (1678) the whole of this sum, plus a £100 of his wife’s money, lay in the hands of Sir Robert Viner, “a worthy Friend,” to be “settled on a charitable use after” his “death”. Finally, we gather that he did make a little profit latterly, but only when his “Fifteenths” yielded more copies than he needed for his friends, etc. For then he let the bookseller have the remainder for two-thirds of the selling price. Thus both he and the author gained something. There is a touch of pathos in his last words. He had inherited (he says) a small patrimony but had given it all away to his

reader that it costs him as much as £50 to “have twenty quire of” his “writing well transcribed” and that (“for some books”) a “Neighbour-minister” has done this “tedious work” for him free of charge.

poor kindred ; he had been "divested" "15 or 16 years" "of all ecclesiastical maintenance" ; during these years he had never "received Wages from" Church or Lecture ; his wife's money was not his, nor, if it had been, was it "much more than half" their "yearly expense" ; "much against" his "Disposition" he was "put to take Money of the Bounty of special particular Friends". In short, he was a poor man, and rendered poor by his own almost too scrupulous consideration of other people's claims or supposed claims. He might well say "of all crimes in the world I least expected to be accused of Covetousness". Yet he was.

THE WOODPECKER IN HUMAN FORM.¹

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IT is now well known that some of the stateliest forms of classical religion are reducible to vegetable origins, and that midway between the human form divine and the vegetable form divine, there is often to be traced an intermediate animal form, through which the emergent spirit passed on its way from its vegetable prison to its Olympian abode. We might have, perhaps, guessed that Zeus was connected with the thunder, and have placed his home in an original oak sanctuary, but who would ever have suspected that after escaping from the thunder-tree he entered into the frame of the thunder-bird, and in particular into the body of a red-headed woodpecker? As a matter of fact we had hardly realised that there was such a thing as a European thunder-bird, or any thunder-bird at all, except in the poetic imagination of the North-American Indians. And now the creature has taken front rank in religious ornithology! We see him, or one of his surrogates, on every church tower. In a new sense, all things are full of Zeus.

As soon as we have recognised the woodpecker, or thunder-bird, as the prototype of the Greek Zeus, it becomes natural and proper to inquire what was the human form into which it developed among Western and Northern nations: for we also have the woodpecker with us as an object of reverence, not indeed the great black woodpecker, or *Picus martius*, which has seldom, if ever, been seen in these islands, but the green woodpecker (*Gecinns viridis*), and one or two smaller varieties. It will be remembered that the green woodpecker was the variety that was personified in Attica under the name of King Keleos (Keleos being the Greek name of the bird).

Even in the British Isles there must have been some tendency to

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 1st April, 1919.

anthropomorphism in the case of a cult so widely diffused as that of the green woodpecker. Let us see, then, if we can find out what became of him.¹ Our first thought is that we should look in the direction of the red-bearded (and presumably red-haired) god Thor for the human thunder. The problem does not, however, admit of so simple a solution. For we remember that there are competing thunder-birds in the classical world (woodpeckers, cocks, etc.), and competing thunder-men (Picus, Keleos, etc.) as well as competing thunder-gods (Zeus, Hephæstus, Mars, etc.) In the West, too, we have competing thunder-birds (woodpecker, robin, etc.), and it would be wrong to assume that Thor is the only divine-human form that has sprung from them. It is even suspected that he has links with the robin redbreast rather than with the woodpecker. We must examine, without altogether excluding Thor as a solution, the problem of woodpecker-promotion over a wider area than the great northern gods can furnish. Let us see in what direction we are to look for our identified god or hero. What do we know about the woodpecker mythologically?

In the first place, we know he is linked to the thunder and has charge of the weather; is, in fact, the original Weather. Then we know that, as Thunder, he is the patron of one, at least, of a pair of twin children. In the arts he is the inventor of the plough and of the ship; the original digging-stick (pick, hack) and the primitive dugout being imitated from his action in hollowing out trees. From the same action he became the smith of antiquity, so that a whole clan of mysterious workers may borrow his name. He must have, of course, a red head, and he must live in a hollow tree. He has close connection with bees and with the culture of bees. He is also the guide of travellers and hunters and presides over fords.

That will suffice as a preliminary series of marks by which his divinised form is to be recognised. For further study we may refer to

¹ We have shown elsewhere (see *Picus who is also Zeus*) that there are many personal names derived from the woodpecker, but this does not necessarily prove personification of the woodpecker. Quite a number are place-names which have become personal names. Then there is a group of names like Pike, Pickett, Hack, Hackett, Eccle, Eccles, and the like, which really are woodpecker names. They correspond to Picus, Keleos, and the like. An even better instance would be such a name as Speakman, well known in the Manchester area, which is definitely woodpecker-man, Speak being here the equivalent to the German Specht, or the Norfolk Spack.

the histories of Zeus, of Hephæstus, of Keleos, Picus and Mars, of Hadad the thunder-god of Northern Syria (whose name under the form Hedad is current to-day as a personal name in Palestine and Egypt, and in North Africa, as the name of either bird or smith) as well as to the histories of twins derived from them. We are now going to suggest that in the British Isles, the woodpecker was personified, for some of our ancestors, under the name and title of *Wayland Smith*.

Wayland Smith is known to most people from the use which Walter Scott makes of him in his novel of *Kenilworth*. You will remember how Flibbertigibbet undertakes to get Tressilian's horse shod for him, by a smith who lives in an underground cave, and who may not be looked upon at his work. You put your money on a stone; retire to a convenient distance, turn your back, shut your eyes, and when the hammering is over, lo! there is your horse with a new shoe. Wayland was a wild figure enough, even in *Kenilworth*, but a much wilder one in popular imagination. To the people he was hardly human. He had a well-known sanctuary in the Vale of White Horse in Berkshire, and the place is still shown with its rude stone monuments of the cult with which he was regarded. This is his principal cult-centre. He comes before us as Wayland Smith, the first is his real name, the second is his calling. The name occurs in various forms, Wayland, being, perhaps, the latest; it is written Wieland and Wielant, and in other forms which we shall presently meet with. We come across him as a smith, and in particular as a shoe-smith. I do not know when the art of shoeing a horse first arose. It is rather a late development of human history. The smith, at any rate, precedes the shoe-smith: and it is hardly likely that Wayland is limited to the shoeing of horses. Indeed, we may be sure that it was not so; for the very same custom of smith-work carried on in secret, was known over a wider area than horse-shoeing to the ancients, and gave rise to curious legends. The dwarf elves of the North, as we shall see, were Wayland's instructors, and they wrought in secret. One of the oldest books of travel in the world is the story of the *Wanderings or Circuit of Pytheas*, who came round the Mediterranean, went outside the Pillars of Hercules and as far north as the British Isles: and Pytheas tells us, that in the Lipari Isles there were iron-workers, to whom you took the raw iron for making a sword or other gear, deposit-

ing the money and coming back on the morrow for your weapon. It seems to be implied in the report that the workmen themselves were not seen.¹

This is evidently a case of a Wayland Smith establishment on a large scale. We shall find out presently that Wayland could make swords as well as horse-shoes. Let us see if we can get any further in the search for Wayland's centres of operation, whether smithies or other invisible workshops. First of all, a few words more with regard to the Berkshire sanctuary.

In Brand-Hazlitt's collections on *Faiths and Folk-lore*, we find as follows :—

P. 621. "A very ancient and famous Scandinavian legend, existing in a variety of forms, and apparently transmitted to England by the Saxons, who had a version of it very similar to that associated with the sepulchral monument at the foot of the White Horse Hill, Uffington, Berkshire, where, as at Osnabrück, an invisible smith shoed horses left on the spot with a piece of money for his fee. This Saxon myth has very little in common beyond the name with the Swedish original myth. Scott has, in his *Kenilworth*, utilised the Berkshire tradition."

The notice is somewhat inconsistent in proclaiming first the agreement of the Scandinavian legend and the Berkshire story, and then declaring that the "very similar" accounts have very little in common. We are directed to further sources of investigation, viz. Teutonic and Scandinavian myths of heroes. It is not necessary to assume that the legends of the famous Wayland are not to be found in England: they may possibly be more at home in these islands than the first investigators of the folk-lore story imagined.

Suppose we turn now from ancient myths to modern romance: we will take as our guide Mr. Kipling in his charming book entitled *Puck of Pook's Hill*. The following conversation is imagined between Puck, the lad Dan, and his sister Una.

¹ The fragment of Pytheas is contained in a scholiast's note on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4, 76, where he speaks of the "anvils of Hephæstus":—

τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο τὸν βουλόμενον ἀργὸν σίδηρον ἐπιφέρειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐρίον ἐλθόντα λαμβάνειν ἢ ξίφος ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἤθελε κατασκευάσαι, καταβαλόντα μισθόν· ταῦτα φησὶ Πυθέας ἐν γῆς περιόδῳ, λέγων καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκεῖ ζεῖν.

P. 16. "I met Weland first on a November afternoon," said Puck, "in a sleet storm on Pevensey Level."

"Pevensey? over the hill, you mean?" Dan pointed south.

"Yes, but it was all marsh in those days, right up to Horsebridge and Hydeneye. I was on Beacon Hill—they called it Brunanburgh then—when I saw the pale flame that burning thatch makes, and I went down to look. Some pirates—I think they just have been Peof's men—were burning a village on the Levels, and Weland's image—a big, black, wooden thing with amber beads round its neck—in the bows of a black thirty-two oar galley that they had just beached. Bitter cold it was! There were icicles hanging from her deck, and the oars were glazed with ice, and there was ice on Weland's lips. When he saw me he began a long chant in his own tongue, telling me how he was going to rule England, and how I should smell the smoke of his altars from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight. I didn't care! I'd seen too many Gods charging into Old England to be upset about it. I let him sing himself out while his men were burning the village, and then I said (I don't know what put it into my head), "Smith of the Gods," I said, "the time comes when I shall meet you plying your trade for hire by the wayside."

Here the important thing to notice is that Mr. Kipling recognises that altars to Weland are to be found from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight, and that the cult was, in his view, imported by Danish or Saxon pirates. Mr. Kipling goes on to suggest that the sacrifices to the Smith-God were originally human, later commuted for horses, and later again for hair from the mane or tail of the horse. The most important point for us is the suggestion that the cult was widely diffused, which must mean place-names recalling Weland and his art or monuments.

The diffusion of the cult is referred to again by Mr. Kipling in the conversation between Puck and his young friends:—

P. 19. "One evening I heard old Hobden talking about Weland's ford."

"If you mean old Hobden the hedger, he's only seventy-two. He told me so himself," said Dan. "He's an intimate friend of ours."

"You're quite right," Puck replied. "I meant old Hobden's ninth great grandfather. He was a free man and burned charcoal hereabouts. . . . Of course I pricked up my ears when I heard

Weland mentioned, and I scuttled through the woods to the Ford just beyond Bog Wood yonder”

“Why, that’s Willingford Bridge,” said Una. “We go there for walks often, there’s a kingfisher there.”

“It was Weland’s Ford, then, dear. A road led down to it from the Beacon on the top of a hill. A shocking bad road it was, and all the hill-side was thick with oak forest, with deer in it. There was no trace of Weland, but presently I saw a fat old farmer riding down from the Beacon Hill under the greenwood tree. His horse had cast a shoe in the clay, and when he came to the Ford he dismounted, took a penny out of his purse, laid it on a stone, tied the old horse to an oak and called out ‘Smith, smith, here is work for you!’ Then he sat down and went to sleep.” The story goes on to relate how Weland, now known as Wayland Smith, shod the horse. Later on we are told how he made a famous sword and covered it with runes. That is also a part of the original legends.

In this charming story Mr. Kipling has worked carefully over early British and Scandinavian folk-lore. He must have also studied the place-names of the country in order to find Weland survivals. In particular he implies that he finds such survivals from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight. One of them is specified, viz. : Willingford Bridge derived from an original Weland-ford. It may, I suppose, be assumed, without injustice to Mr. Kipling, who has shown his hand in this special case, that he has been studying such cases as Welland, Willingham and the like, and reading Weland’s name in them. The instance which he weaves into his tale seems to be a very likely one. The name Willingford Bridge is very suggestive ; it must be an old name ; it has the archaic ford replaced, or rather, supplemented, by the modern bridge ; just in the same way as Stamford Bridge replaces an original Stane-ford. If we could be quite sure of Willingford, I should point out at once the number of cases in which the ford is presided over by the woodpecker as *dux viae*: such names as Pickford (Warwick), Hackford (Norf.), Aylesford and Eaglesford (Kent), Whittlesford (Cambs.), Ickleford (Herts), Ecclesford, etc., all of which involve popular appellations of the woodpecker ; and we should then be able to say of Weland that he is—

(1) A smith,

(2) A guide and guardian of travellers,

just as we have shown the woodpecker to be, in the little book, *Picus who is also Zeus*.

The difficulty with place-names lies in the certification of their original forms : how often the Domesday Book and the early charters tell a different tale from the map or the Gazetteer !

Let us try a similar case. Wallingford is very nearly the same as Willingford, and might easily be deduced from the same or nearly the same original. It would be very convincing if we could find another Weland-ford to put with our woodpecker-fords. When we turn, however, to Johnstone's *Place-Names* we find as follows :—

Wallingford: c. 893 Chart. Welinga ford. 1006 O.E. Chron. Wealinga ford. 1216 Walinga ford. 1298 Walinford. 1373 Walyngford. "Ford of the Wealings" or "Sons of Wealh," or "Sons of the Foreigner". See Wales. We get a Norman spelling in *Wm. of Poitiers*, Guarenford.

It will be seen that in the case of Wallingford, the evidence is all against an original Weland-ford. If such a name were the real original, it must have disappeared from common use before A.D. 893. It is possible, but not likely.

Let us take another case which may, perhaps, have occurred to Mr. Kipling in his researches (he is evidently a very close and careful student of English ground, and the history which is so thickly imbedded in it).

Pook's Hill shows that there is a Willingham in Suffolk and another in Cambridgeshire, which might claim kinship with Willingford.

If we turn to Skeat's *Place-Names of Suffolk* we shall find as follows :—

Willingham: Spelt Wilingham, T.N.; Willingham, D.B. Pp. 6, 109, which may be the original form. If it be so, the sense is "home (or enclosure) of the Willings," or "of the sons of Willa". Willa is a known name. But Willingham in Cambridgeshire is differently spelt in D.B. and means "home of the Wifelings," or "of the sons of Wifel".

So here also we have no right to conjecture an original Welandham. The Domesday Book is against us. In fact, Wyvelingham appears to be the spelling of Willingham in Cambridgeshire as late as 1750, and Willingham in Lincolnshire was also Wyvelingham in 1311.¹

The case is not much better with the perplexing Willingtons and

¹ See Skeat, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 25.

Wellingtons that are scattered up and down the country. In his work on the *Place-Names of Durham*, Mr. C. E. Jackson writes :—

P. 111. Willington. There are two places of this name in the County records. One belonged to the Church, the other to the monks. It is almost impossible to separate them in the records. S(ymeon) Twiningtun, Twilingatun. Twinlingtum, F(eodarium Pr. Dunelm), Wiflington, Wiflinctun, Wivelinton, Willyngton ; V(alor), E(ccles). Wylyngtoun. All the forms later than Symeon are from the place-name Wifel, found in charters, A.D. 710 Wiveleshole, 863 Wifelesberg : thus the meaning of the modern name is "Wifel's tun," which, by the way, has nothing to do with *wife*, but it is the A.S. *wifel*—an arrow.

Of what was in the mind of Symeon when he wrote his prefix I can make no guess.

It certainly is perplexing to find so decided a duality in the name. Perhaps Symeon's *twiling* is the German *zwillig*, in which case we have a definite twin-town. But that will not explain the other form.

Of Willington in Bedfordshire, Skeat writes for his *Place-Names of Bedfordshire* as follows :—

P. 60. *Willington*, spelt *Welitone*, D.B., *Wyliton*, E.T., *Willinton*, F.A., p. 50 (1316). The D.B. form is the oldest and best ; *Weli* answers to A.S. *Welig*, a willow-tree, the sense was probably "willow-farm".

So we do not get very much further in the search for Weland shrines. What about the Welland River, which has given its name by migration to the Welland Canal in Canada ? Johnstone's account of it is as follows :—

Welland (river), (Northants) 921, O. E. Chron. *Weolud*, which looks like W. *gwaelod*, base, bottom. But *Welland* (Upton on Severn) is 1196 Weneland, 1297 Wenlond, 1461 Wenelond, "Land of Wenna".

On the whole, we have drawn blank in the search for Weland. We have found instead Willa, Wifel, Wenna, the arrow, the willow, but no trace of Weland, unless perhaps at Mr. Kipling's Willingford and at Wallingford.

We will now turn to the Teutonic and Scandinavian mythologies in order to find out some more about the mysterious Weland. From

Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, we learn that he was (1) a demi-god ; (2) a smith ; (3) a boat-builder ; (4) a flying-man, and (5) that he had twin children.

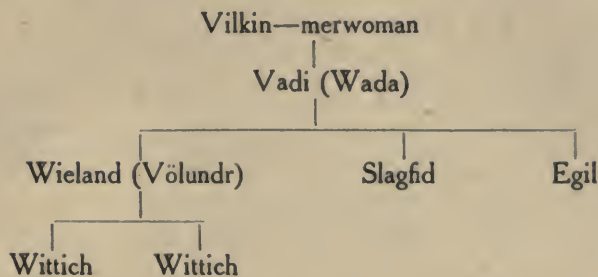
P. 376. "At the head of the whole race (of heroes) is placed *Vilkinus*, named after Vulcanus, as the Latin termination shows, a god, or demi-god, who must have had another German name, and who begets with the mer-woman a gigantic son *Vadi*: A.S. *Wada*, O.H.G. *Wato*. . . . (He had a son.)

"Now that son, whom *Vadi* carried through the sea to apprentice him to those cunning smiths the dwarfs, was *Wielant*, A.S. *Weland*, *Welond*, O.N. *Volundr* ; but in the *Vilk-Saga*, *Velint*, master of all smiths, and wedded to a swan-maiden. . . .

"The rightful owner of the boat, which English tradition ascribes to *Wada*, seems to have been *Wieland*. The *Vilk-Saga* tells how he timbered a boat out of the trunk of the tree and sailed over seas. Lamed in the sinews of his foot, he forged for himself a winged garment, and took his flight through the air. . . . *Witiche*, the son he had by *Baduhilt*, bore a hammer and tongs in his scutcheon in honour of his father ; during the Middle Ages his memory lasted among smiths, whose workshops were styled *Wieland's houses*, and perhaps his likeness was set up or painted outside them."

Here, then, we have a description of the smith who turned ship-builder, and it was natural to find parallels with *Hephæstus*, the lame smith of Olympus, and other mythical Greek artists, such as *Dædalus*, the flying man. Accordingly, Grimm says that there is an unexpected confirmation of the descriptions given in the *Saga* "in the striking similarity of the Greek fables of *Hephæstus*, *Erichthonius*, and *Dædalus*. As *Weland* offers violence to *Beadohild* (O.N. *Völundr* to *Boðvildr*) so *Hephæstus* lays a snare for *Athene*, when she comes to order weapons of him ; both *Hephæstus* and *Völundr* are punished with lameness, *Erichthonius* too, is lame, etc."

Grimm notes further that there were two sons of *Wieland* (full) brothers : *Wittich* and *Wittich von der aue*. From the coincidence of the names we infer that these are twin brethren (see *Boanerges*, chap. xxx.). We have a heroic genealogy of the following type :—



We will first examine into the story of how Wieland learnt to fly.

“Voelund requested his brother (Egil) to furnish him with feathers of all sizes. Egil went into the woods, killed all sorts of birds, and brought the feathers to Voelund. With them Voelund made himself wings like those of a great bird of prey. . . .

“He then ascended to the roof of his house, took the wings, prepared himself, and at last ascended to the air. He said to his brother, if you are called upon to shoot at me, you will aim at this bladder, which I have filled with the blood of the sons of King Nidung, and which I have fastened under my left arm. When flying away he confessed to his brother that he had misdirected him as to the mode of managing the wings, because he was suspicious of him. Voelund flew up to the highest tower, and cried out with all his might for the King to come and speak with him. On hearing his voice the King came out and said, ‘*Voelund, have you become a bird?*’ What is your project?’ ‘My Lord,’ replied the smith, ‘*I am at present bird and man at once*; I depart, and you will never see me again in your life. Nevertheless, before I go, I will reveal to you some secrets. You cut my hamstrings to prevent me from going, and I revenged myself upon your daughter, who is with child by me. You would have deprived me of the use of my feet, and in my turn, I have deprived you of your sons, whose throat I cut with my own hand; but you will find the bones in the vases garnished with gold and silver with which I have ornamented your table.’ Having said these words, Voelund disappeared in the air. Then the King said to Egil: take your bow and shoot at him, the villain must not escape alive; if you miss him, your head shall pay the forfeit. Egil took his bow, shot, and the arrow struck Voelund under the left arm, so that the blood descended upon the earth. ‘It is good,’ said the King, ‘Voelund cannot go far.

Nevertheless he flew into Seeland, descended in a wood, where he constructed himself a dwelling."¹

Here we have the hero definitely turned into a bird, and gone back to his home in the woods. His brother Egil is the archer of the North, who appears in Swiss legend as William Tell. It is open to question whether Egil is not one of the many names of the woodpecker. The bird-form assumed by the hero is composite. Some say that his feather dress was like the stripped off skin of a griffin or a falcon, or the bird that they call Strauss (? the crested wren).² No special identification is suggested with the woodpecker, but it is certainly a bird-form that is assumed.

Fragments of the foregoing story will be found in the supplement to the *Heldenbuch* as follows :—

P. xxxviii. "Wittich eyn Held. Wittich owe syn Bruder. Wieland was der zweyer Wittich vatter. . . . Darnach kam er zuo Kunig Elberich und ward syn gesell. Und war auch ein Schmid in dem Berg zuo Gloggen-Sachzen. Darnach kam er zuo Konig Hertwick, und by des tochter machet er zwen sune."

This brings out the details of a smith who has twin sons by a princess. We now pass on to the question whether Wieland is the first shipbuilder. This is one of the points which we set out to establish ; for, as we have shown in *Boanerges*, the first ship made by our ancestors was credited to the woodpecker, who is still regarded by the Ainu of Japan as having been sent down by God to show them how to make boats. Let us then see what the northern hero-legends have to say on this point :—

"Wieland learnt the smith's craft amongst the dwarfs, and having passed his apprenticeship with them, he desired to return again to Denmark. So he killed the dwarfs, stole one of their horses, which he loaded with gold and valuables. At last he came in his journeyings to the Weser stream, which he was unable to cross. By this stream there was a great forest by which he tarried for awhile ; it was not far from the sea. One day he climbed on the hill on a river bank, and espied a large tree, which he felled to the ground, divided in two and

¹ *Wayland Smith*, from the French of Depping and Michael, with additions by S. W. Singer and the amplified legend by Oehlenschläger. London, 1847, p. xxiii, *sqq.*

² Hagen, *Heldenbuch*, i. 124.

hollowed out. At the slender end of the tree, where the leaves broke out, he deposited his tools and his possessions : where the tree was more spacious he stored himself food and drink, and then crept inside and closed the tree so completely that he was secure against river or sea. He closed the aperture in the tree with glasses so that they could easily be removed when occasion should arise ; the water could thus find as little entrance to the tree as it would be able to do if the tree were not hollowed out. The tree was now lying by the river bank, and by agitating it from within he got it down to the bank so that it rolled into the stream, and was carried out into the open sea, and after about eighteen days' voyaging brought him at last to his own country."¹

The foregoing story is a dramatisation of the making of the first ship or dug-out by the woodpecker. The only thing modern about the story is the glass windows. And it does not surprise us that writers on mythology have suspected that we have here the story of the invention of the ship. Accordingly Simrock, in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (ed. 4, p. 228), says definitely that either Wate or his son Wieland was the inventor of the ship. "Ihm selbst oder seinem Sohne Wieland legt die Sage ein Boot bei, was ihm als *Erfinder der Schiff-fahrt bezeichnet*." Clearly Wieland is to be counted as the first shipbuilder, that is, he is the woodpecker to whom our ancestors referred the invention in question.

We may then recapitulate our results :—

Wieland was a smith of the gods,
 who had twin children,
 assumed a bird form,
 hollowed out the first ship.
 Perhaps he had a woodpecker brother :
 and if Mr. Kipling is right, you may
 look for him at the river-ford.

To make the identification complete we want to know if he had a red-head, or a red-cap, and if he was related to the thunder. Of this I have found no trace : the dwarfs among whom he works wear blue caps. The parallel with Hephæstus may, perhaps, bring in the lame thunder-god, but these parallels with Hephæstus and Dædalus require further investigation. On the whole, we have sufficient evidence

¹ See Hagen, *Nordische Heldenroman*, i. 76.

for concluding that in some parts of the North, the woodpecker was personified as Wieland, which is what we set out to prove.

We are left, however, with a number of unsolved problems. If Wieland is the woodpecker, why have we no woodpecker-name that coincides with or reflects the name of the hero or of his father Wada? How are we to explain the coincidence between the Vilkin Saga and the stories of Dædalus and of Vulcanus, including especially the point which Grimm could not get over, that Vilkin is the same as the Latin Vulcan? In making the connection between Dædalus the Greek flying-man, and Völundr the northern flying-man, we have also to take into account the fact that Dædalus was also the artist of the famous Cretan labyrinth, of which parallels can be found all the way to Iceland. These labyrinths are in Scandinavia known by the name of Wieland or Völundr-houses. It is not surprising that people have suggested that the whole of the Wieland legends have been brought from the South of Europe at a comparatively late date, and that Wieland is merely Dædalus in disguise.

Then there are the coincident lame gods, with variant stories told to explain how they came to be lame, from Homer onwards. It certainly seems, at first sight, natural to equate the lame-gods with one another and to infer that there is nothing original about the northern Smith of the gods. Wieland would be simply Dædalus or Hephæstus as the case might require, and his legends would be theirs in a late dress.

At this point we pause and reflect. We have not solved Dædalus by equating Wieland with him. Who was Dædalus, and what does *his* name mean? Here the mythologists are dumb or at best only chattering.

One thing is clear that Dædalus is an earlier form than Hephæstus; for he is an artist in wood, and the other is an artist in metal; and the carpenter precedes the smith. Does this preclude the identification with Wieland? Not if Wieland is the woodpecker, for the woodpecker also is a primitive carpenter, and the idea of calling him a smith is a later derivation from his habit of hammering, and his relation to the fire-god. It is as carpenters, for example, that the woodpeckers build the air city in the *Birds* of Aristophanes. Dædalus is nearer to the woodpecker than Hephæstus is. We cannot identify Dædalus and Wieland on account of their labyrinths.

The mazes which are found all over the North of Europe are

clearly no loans from Crete; they are a part of a primitive cult of a sky-god, the meaning of which is still obscure: but at all events, the woodpecker is much nearer to the sky-god than either Dædalus or Wieland, unless there should be reason to believe that he is both Dædalus and Wieland.

As to lame gods, we remember that the existence of such is a folklore fact of very wide diffusion, even if it has not yet found its true explanation. For instance, there is Heitsi-ibib, the lame god of the Hottentots, and no doubt ever so many more. Their genesis, as we have said, is still obscure. Here again, Wieland can be in the same group with Vulcan, without being Vulcan.

There remains the great point in the apparent equivalence of Vilkin and Vulcan. The name Vulcan is supposed to be related to the Greek *Φελχάνος* which Hesychius says is a name of Zeus among the Cretans. We remember the equivalence of Zeus and Picus in Crete, and are not surprised to find that it has been suggested that *Felcanos* is a bird, perhaps a cock; or it may be the same as our word *falcon*, which is said to mean a bird with hooked claws, in the first instance. If it is a bird's name, then it may very well be that Vilkin and Vulcan are, both of them, related to that bird, without any linguistic or legendary borrowing.

Now let us turn again to Grimm. In discussing the hero-form of Eigil or Egil the Archer, he tells us that "according to the Edda, Völundr had two brothers, Slagfiðr and Egill, all three *synir Finna-konungs*, sons of a Finnish King, whereas the saga transplanted to the North from Germany makes its Vilkinus a king of Vilkinaland. Or can Finna be taken as the gen. of Finni, and identified with Finn Folcwaldansunu? Slagfiðr might seem—Slagfinnr, but is better explained as Slagfiöðr (flap-wing)."

The difficulty which Grimm notes in referring the Völundr Saga to Finland is a real one. It disappears if we note that the perplexing word is the Anglo-Saxon *Fine*, the woodpecker. Thus Völundr and his two brothers are all sons of the original King Picus, and may, therefore, be regarded as themselves heroes in bird-form. Egil is easy to explain on this hypothesis, and so is Slagfiðr: while Völundr (and by implication the related Wieland) are seen to belong to the very same bird ancestry. We need not hesitate longer to reckon Wayland the Smith as an English woodpecker-hero.

Now let us inquire whether the supposed woodpecker-hero and his twin children are associated with primitive sanctuaries. It will be remembered that we traced one origin of sanctuary to the taboo which attaches itself to twin children and their mother. Such sanctuaries are constantly being created in W. Africa at the present day, whenever the offending twin-mother and her brood are expelled from the community that they have terrified and endangered. The usual sanctuary is an island in the midst of the stream, and it is upon such islands that twin-towns naturally spring up, as an original group is supplemented by other twin-groups, or by runaway slaves, or evasive debtors, or any people who will risk a taboo in order to get rid of social responsibility. We say that this form of social ostracism is one of the origins of sanctuary. No doubt there are others, but this is one of the most common. The sanctuary, for example, which Romulus devised at Rome need not be any different from what we can detect in the present day in the Niger region : it is lawful to suspect that many of the most famous sanctuaries all over Europe are due to a similar cause.

The question arises naturally whether Wieland has any connection with a sanctuary or sanctuaries known to us in England. We have called the Berkshire monument with which his name is associated a sanctuary, but we have no history of the Uffington monument, and the term sanctuary is used loosely and with insufficient precision. Let us take a case where sanctuary is more certain, and see if we can find any traces of Wayland therein.

The most venerable and the most certain sanctuary in England is Westminster Abbey ; from the earliest days it has been a place of dread ; it is called "locus terribilis" in the first document that describes it, the charter of Offa. This sense of terror developed into a profound religious regard in the Middle Ages, and made it the place of resort for thieves and runaways, much as in ancient Rome ; we have still a Broad Sanctuary at Westminster, and the history of the Abbey is full of instances when it furnished shelter to the fugitive.

Dean Stanley in his *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* attached to his title-page the following extract from Howell's *Perustration of London* in 1657 :—

"The Abbey of Westminster hath been always the greatest sanctuary and rendezvous of devotion of the whole island ; whereunto the situation of the whole place seems to contribute very much, and to

strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the heart of the beholders."

Well ! reverence and melting piety are commonly evolved out of primitive taboo : and it was quite true in a sense that the author of the *Perlustration* did not intend that the situation of the place contributes much to the sense of reverence ; for Westminster Abbey stands on ground that was once an island. Its original name was Thorney, which people commonly interpret as Isle of Thorns (though I doubt if this is its correct meaning). At all events, it is an island sanctuary, and this naturally provokes comparison with island-sanctuaries elsewhere. Stanley says of it¹ that "the island or peninsula thus enclosed, in *common with more than one similar spot*, derived its name from its thickets of thorn." He is thinking of Thorney Abbey in the fen country ; but the point to be noted is that there is more than one similar spot.

What has this to do with Wieland, you will say ? I am coming to that. In the sanctuary furnished by the Abbey of Westminster is the Treasury of the early English Kings ; and when a Prime Minister of England is called First Lord of the Treasury, this is the treasury that his lordship applies to. Originally there were many treasures here besides money and war bonds : let us see what Dean Stanley can tell us about them.² To this Treasury "were brought the most cherished possessions of the State : the Regalia of the Saxon monarchy ; the Black Rood of St. Margaret ("the Holy Cross of Holyrood") ; the "Crocis Gneyth" (or Cross of St. Neot) from Wales, deposited here by Edward I ; the sceptre or rod of Moses ; the Ampulla of Henry IV ; the sword with which King Athelstane cut through the rock at Dunbar ; *the sword of Wayland Smith by which Henry II was knighted* ; the sword of Tristan, presented by John the Emperor ; the dagger which wounded Edward I at Acre ; the iron gauntlet worn by John of France when taken prisoner at Poitiers."

A very curious and interesting collection of antiquities. This sword of Wayland is in the legends as a part of the skill which he learnt of the dwarf iron-workers in the North : it was covered with runes and was a terrible implement. Stanley says it was used at the Knighthood of Henry II ; more exactly of his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet ; and

¹ l.c. i. 3.

² *Memorials*, i. 383.

it was sent across the Channel to Rouen, so that the young Plantagenet might have it as part of his knightly equipment, at the time of his initiation. The Chronicler tells us that it was a very ancient relic : we may conjecture that it stood next in dignity to the Rod of Moses with which it was associated. So here we have Weyland actually connected with the oldest and greatest of British Sanctuaries, and the Sanctuary is on an island. The proof is not final that Westminster Abbey is the home of Wayland (or one of his homes) ; the sword might have been brought there as a treasure, as Moses deposited his rod there instead of leaving it to the Monastery on Mt. Sinai ; but it is certainly curious that we should turn up the Wayland Smith relic precisely at this spot. The old tradition of the Abbey was that a pagan temple of Diana once stood there ; we shall not be far wrong in assuming, at all events, that a heathen sanctuary preceded the Christian shrine : we suspect that it was a twin sanctuary.

Note.—The authority for Dean Stanley's statement as to the preservation of the famous sword of Wayland in the Treasury at Westminster will be found in the *Historia Gaufrredi Comititis Andegavorum* by Johannes Monachus Majoris Monasterii (see *Recueil des Historiens*, xii. p. 521) : it proceeds, after describing the bathing, helming, etc., of the young knights, of whom Geoffrey Plantagenet was the leader, as follows :—

“Ad ultimum allatus est ei ensis de thesauro regis, ab antiquo ibidem signatus, in quo fabricando superlativus Galaunus multa opera et studio desudavit.”

Here Galaunus is the Norman-French for Wayland, just as Guarenford is for Wallingford, which we were discussing previously.

NEW COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY W. E. CRUM.

INTERSPERSED among the large number of important Greek papyri, which Dr. Rendel Harris recently acquired in Egypt for the Rylands Library,¹ there were a number—relatively small of course—of Coptic pieces, some on vellum, mostly on papyrus. Such a mixture of the languages has, for years past, been a foregone conclusion when professedly Greek papyri were to be bought; and in this case as elsewhere, a few texts older than either—in the demotic script—and some younger—in Arabic—lay among the Greek and Coptic.

The Coptic MSS., with the rest, were bought at various points: some at Cairo, others as far south as Luxor, others at Ashmunain or elsewhere in middle Egypt, or in the Fayyûm. It has long been recognized that the locality, where a mixed lot of papyri may chance to be on sale, is far from being an indication of original *provenance*. This is especially true of Ashmunain, the principal mart of recent years, and it is *a fortiori* implied when the purchase is made in Cairo, where the dealers attract papyri from the whole length of the Nile valley. Classification by dialect is therefore the primary guide to the homes of such MSS., and the indications thus obtained may be further particularized by help of place (and, to some extent, personal) names incidental in the texts.

Among the fifty odd pieces which seemed likely to repay more examination, I found the three southern dialects indeed represented, but those of Achmim and the Fayyûm by only one and two fragments respectively. All the rest showed a Sa'idic varying, as was to be expected, in degree of contamination and correctness of orthography. Chronologically the collection is extensive: two or three of the literary fragments can scarcely be younger than the fourth century; some of the private documents and at least one literary text should belong to

¹ *V. Bulletin*, v. p. 363.

the ninth or tenth. But the majority seem, as usual, to date from the sixth to eighth centuries.

1. Biblical. These form, of course, the principal element in the small group of literary texts. All the pieces are on vellum. To name them in their usual order¹:—

Two small fragments of the *Psalter* (12, 14).

One from *Ecclesiastes*, chap. i (2).

Fragments from two MSS. of *Sirach* (6, 7). The former of these, from chap. i, is strangely paged in the inner corners of the leaf, Γ and Δ. The second is written in a beautiful little hand, rivalling that of the Turin MS. and probably likewise of the fourth or fifth century. It shows verses from chaps. xviii and xxiii.

Fragments of *Lamentations*, chaps. ii, iii. (3).

A scrap from *Ezekiel* xxix and xxx (9).

A very small leaf (4) on which *Daniel* xi. 38 and xii. 9 are discernable, though it is hard to see how all the intervening passage could be accommodated on so minute a page.

The New Testament is represented by two fragments of *Acts*: one (8), in three columns of an early hand, has verses from chaps. x and xi; the other (17) some from chap. xiii.

Two from *Romans*: one (1) paged ξA, ξB, from the Fayyûmic version of chaps. xi, xii, is in a fine, early hand, and may possibly belong to one of the two already known MSS. of this version of the Epistle²; while the other (32), with verses from chap. i, is one of a number of scraps unmistakably reminiscent of the White Monastery.

A fragment (5) of 1 *Corinthians*, chap. i.

To the biblical texts may be added the remnants of a papyrus lectionary (18), showing (on now separate fragments) verses from *Acts*, chaps. viii-x, *Matthew* xxvii 63-xxviii 4, a *Psalms*, and *Galatians* v. 19 etc. Traces of early lectionaries on papyrus are very rare.³ This one may be of the sixth century.

2. Liturgical books are present in the form of some tenth or eleventh century vellum fragments of an Anaphoral Service—again, I suspect, from the White Monastery—one of which (11) shows title

¹ The numbers in brackets are those given *temporarily* to this Coptic Supplement.

² *Brit. Mus. Catal.* no. 506, and *Mitth. Erzsh. Rainer*, ii. 70.

³ Cf. my *Theolog. Texts*, p. 2.

and beginning of the *Prayer of Thanksgiving* (εὐχαριστία), after the receiving of the Holy Mysteries, which closes the Liturgy of St. Cyril¹: "What blessing or what praise or what thanksgiving can we repay unto Thee. . . ." In our fragment, however, this prayer is attributed to "the Patriarch S[]", doubtless Severus of Antioch, to whom elsewhere other prayers, but not this, are ascribed.²

Another (33) is the best preserved of all these Coptic MSS.: a complete Hymn, on six small vellum leaves, in praise of St. Menas, the military martyr, whose picture, on horseback with raised hands (*orans*), adorns the outer page. The hymn is acrostical, the stanzas beginning each with a successive letter of the Greek alphabet, the five additional Coptic letters being ignored. A hymn of this type in Sa'idic is almost an unique survival.³ The present MS. dates indeed from the latest age in which Sa'idic was still a living idiom and our hymn may owe its inspiration to the same influences which were to produce such compositions as the Bohairic *Theotokia*.⁴ A subscription below the last stanza reads: "By me (δὲ ἐμοῦ), *Paleu*, son of *Cosma*, the carpenter, the ψαλμωδός." The formula δὲ ἐμοῦ, once the official attestation of the notary before whom a deed was drawn up,⁵ had by now come to be merely the introduction to the scribe's name,⁶ or even the artist's, where a volume is illustrated.⁷ And here, artless though the composition is, we are hardly entitled to credit *Paleu* with the authorship as well as penmanship of our hymn.

A second small vellum book (34), of later size and date, but not complete, has two hymns, one paraphrasing Christ's words to the

¹ Renaudot (1847), i. 50, Cairo *Euchologion* (1902), 673. A prayer somewhat similarly beginning (but before communion) is in the so-called *Anaphora of St. Matthew the Evangelist* (Paris 129²⁰, f. 126): "What tongue of flesh or what mind of man can tell Thy marvels. . . ."

² Renaudot, *op. cit.*, 26; Brightman, *Lit. Eastern etc.*, 144. A fragment belonging to Prof. Sayce preserves the title of an *Anaphora of Severus*.

³ One (fragmentary) is printed by Munier, *Ann. du Serv.*, 1918, 65; another (*ditto*) by Erman and Junker (*v. Lemm, KKS.*, no. xx, p. 160). Both MSS. are quite late.

⁴ Cf. my *Theolog. Texts*, p. 27 n. for its possible date and authorship; also A. Grohmann in *Abh. d. Phil. hist. Kl. d. Säch. Akad.* xxxiii, iv, p. 11.

⁵ V. Gardthausen in C. Wessely's *Studien*, xvii.

⁶ V. Crum-Steindorff, *Kopt. Rechtsurkunden*, p. 403, *inf.* It occurs too on stelæ: Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts*, p. 1.

⁷ Hyvernat, *A Check-List of Coptic MSS. in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (1919), pl. iv.

disciples at Pentecost; the other a dialogue between Him and the martyr Victor, son of Romanus.

Under this rubric we may place one of the most interesting of our MSS. (47, 48): two fragments of papyrus preserving parts of one of those Festal (Heortastical) Letters, annually addressed by the Alexandrine patriarch to his suffragans and to the monasteries, of which Athanasius has left us the best known examples.¹ The text here is written upon one side only of the leaf: a fact which goes to confirm my previous explanation of three other fragments, already in this Library,² as parts of similar Letters; for the two extant specimens in Greek³ are likewise so written. Both these Greek Letters are upon scrolls, which the text covers in successive broad columns. What our new fragments preserve are the remnants of two (or three) of the columns from such a scroll. Now the last of these columns happens to be also the conclusion of the Letter, and thus we have the customary dating formula, which is the *raison d'être* of each Festal Letter and which in the present instance announces Easter as the 27th of Pär-moute, *i.e.* 22d April. Since the issuing patriarch's name is not preserved, we have only the script of our MS. to help us to its date. It is written in an upright, rounded uncial (A, M, T in one stroke each), of the type generally ascribed to about the seventh century.⁴ Among the years that had their Easter on 22d April, the most likely alternatives seem to me 596 or 675. The text itself, where legible (upon the first of the fragments), treats of Christ's body before and after the Resurrection, quoting 1 *Corinthians* ii. 8, with an admonition against unorthodox distinctions between the two.

¹ On the means of circulating them *v.* the interesting covering letter, *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, no. 464. A letter of Cyril to Shenoute (*CSCO.*, 42, 225 A) speaks of a lector as entrusted with one for the bishops; but he appears to be accredited to the great archimandrite likewise. Several fragments (titles etc.) of the Letters of Damianus (*ob.* 605) are to be read upon contemporary ostraca (*v.* my *Coptic Ostraca*, no. 18 n.).

² *Catal. of Coptic MSS.*, nos. 81-83.

³ Grenfell and Hunt, *Gk. Pap.* ii. 163 and C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Altchr. Texte* (Berlin, 1910), 55. As regards the title *πρωτοπρεσβύτερος*, which Schmidt takes to be that of the addressee of the Berlin Letter, two instances nearer in time to the date there assumed than those cited (p. 91), are found in the *Life of John the Almoner*, ed. Gelzer, p. 31, and in Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴ Cf. for especial resemblance *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, pl. 9, no. 951 = *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version etc.*, ed. H. Thompson, frontispiece.

3. Apocrypha etc. Among these is probably the oldest MS. in this collection (44) : part of a vellum leaf (*ca.* 15 × 12 cm. complete), showing very small, square uncials, much like the script of the fourth century Deuteronomy-Acts papyrus, published by Budge. Further, the text is in the primitive Achmimic dialect, whereof so little has reached us, and it appears to be from a narrative relating to St. Paul. The phrases I had time to decipher are : (Recto ?) “ . . . *to-day*. . . . *But* (ἀλλά) *go now down to* . . . *and when* (?) *thou hast quitted that place, do thou go to Jerusalem*’. Now (δέ) *when Paul had heard this, he went to Damascus in great joy*(?). And (δέ) *when he was entered in, he found them* . . . -ing *the fast* (νηστεία)” (Verso ?) “ . . . *Lo* (?), *God will accept*(?) *faith* (?), *for ye are* . . . *ye* (have ?) *received it, it being* (inherited) *from your fathers ; that* (ὥστε) *ye might not* (?) *remain therein as in an iniquitous city* (πόλις), *but* (ἀλλά) . . . *the great treasure without* (?) . . .”

These passages do not occur in the *Acta Pauli*, so far as extant. Perhaps they will be traced to their source by some one more versed than I in apocryphal literature. Once more we have to note how works, popular in the early centuries of the Egyptian church, and those alone, have preserved to us the remnants of the oldest of Coptic idioms : before the later literature had grown familiar, the old dialect had disappeared from literary use.

A wooden tablet (11 × 44 cm.) bears yet another copy of the Letter of Christ to Abgar, the scribe of which signs himself : *νηη νιω Παυλου απο Μεγαλοκτηματος του Εξωρινθιτου πολιτου νομου*, meaning thereby that his home was at Oxyrhynchus.¹ Whether this, like the copies of more portable form, was intended as an amulet, may be doubted.

On a scrap of a paper MS. (15) we discern the names Paul and Dionysius, showing that the text concerns some form of the legend of the Areopagite, whereof the Library already possesses a Coptic specimen.²

Another popular story was that of Eudoxia, the imaginary sister of Constantine, and her visit to Jerusalem in search of the holy places.

¹ Distortions of the name, almost as strange as this, may be seen in the town and episcopal lists, Amélineau, *Géogr.* 561, 569, 573.

² *Catal.*, no. 89.

A fragmentary papyrus leaf (20) preserves a passage from it corresponding to one in the Turin text.¹

4. Legal Documents. The two largest are a further addition to the already voluminous eighth century cartulary from Jême (Medinet Habû).² One (23) is the lower half of a deed of sale (πρᾶσις), in the well-known hand of John, son of Lazarus. The other (36) is part of a similar deed, in a freely ligatured hand, much resembling that of that most popular of scribes, Aristophanes, son of John.³ But here the scribe's name, Theodore, is visible.

We have a specimen (30) of a class of document found usually upon ostraca and peculiar apparently to the seventh century.⁴ Each opens with the formula: "Lo, here is God's word to thee, NN." The writer, a magistrate or other official, generally promises the person addressed that he may return, dwell in his house and go about his business unmolested, adding "neither will I suffer thee to be wronged because that thou didst flee". In the instances which, like the present one include these last words,⁵ we have, I think, to see the official promises or safe-conducts issued to villagers who had previously absconded, or were yet in hiding,⁶ to avoid taxation, conscription, or some other burden.

5. Letters. These, as usual in miscellaneous collections, form our largest class. I noticed eighteen, all fragmentary, which showed features of interest. They could not, however, be profitably described here: for that the texts themselves are indispensable.⁷ Several of them were bought at Luxor (24-29) and might have been unearthed in Western Thebes, for their script closely resembles a series of letters,

¹ F. Rossi, *I Papiri*, i, III, 36. One may suspect that the story of Theodosia, likewise Constantine's sister, found in Ethiopic (Zotenberg, *Catal.*, p. 64, no. 51), is the same as this one. The two names would look almost identical in roughly written Arabic.

² Over 120 deeds are collected in Crum-Steindorff, *Kopt. Rechtsurkunden*.

³ Cf. Revillout, *Actes*, pl. 15.

⁴ *V. my Ostraca*, no. 107 ff. A Greek text somewhat similar is no. 1032 in Brit. Mus. *Gk. Pap.*, iii.

⁵ Another is *Rylands Catal.*, no. 154. I had not recognized the force of the verb *pôt* when describing this MS. Berlin *Kopt. Urk.* i, no. 37 shows an abbot making these promises to a runaway monk.

⁶ E.g. my *Ostraca*, no. 113.

⁷ By Mr. Guppy's kind permission, I am including two or three of them in my forthcoming *Short Texts from Coptic Papyri* etc.

of about A.D. 600, known to have been found there. But the names *Apollo* (the addressee of two or three of this group) and *Anoup*, point to middle, rather than to southern Egypt. Incidental names in other letters, such as *Akoui*, *Naferho*, likewise recall middle Egypt; as does one of the only two place-names which I noted, *Pohe*, found in another Rylands MS.¹ The other place, *Perwónesh*, is apparently unknown, but not without significance here. For, containing as it does the word "wolf," it perhaps points to the neighbourhood of Siût and so hints at a *provenance* for other reasons not improbable.

¹ *Catal.* no. 255. Also named on ostraca from Wadi Sarga, S. of Siût. Cf. ? *Peshgepohe*, Zoega 307, between Dêrut and Siût.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

REPORT OF PROGRESS, WITH LIST OF THE RECENT CONTRIBUTORS.

We are glad to be able to announce that the purpose which the Governors of the John Rylands Library had in view, in December, 1914, when the present scheme was inaugurated, has been abundantly realized, and it may not be out of place again briefly to recall the circumstances which led up to this undertaking, and also those which have contributed to its success.

The scheme grew out of a desire on the part of the Governors to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain in the grievous loss which they had sustained, some four months earlier, through the wanton burning of their famous library by the Germans. This, they felt, could be best accomplished by means of a gift of books to form the nucleus of a new library to replace the splendid collection of manuscripts and printed books involved in that senseless act.

The offer of the gift was made to one of the members of the exiled staff of Louvain professors, and was gratefully acknowledged by him, on behalf of the University authorities, as the first contribution which had been effectually made to the future library of Louvain.

At that time Belgium was in the occupation of the Germans, so the Governors undertook to house their gift until such time as the country had been freed from the presence of the invaders, and the University had been repatriated.

Having given this undertaking it occurred to them that there must be many other libraries and learned institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in such an expression of sympathy, and with a view of inviting their co-operation, an announcement was made in the subsequent issue of this BULLETIN of our willingness to be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us for the purpose. We also announced

our intention of preparing a register of the various contributors with an exact description of their gifts, for presentation with the books when the appropriate time should arrive, to serve as a permanent record of this united effort to repair some of the damage which had been wrought by the war.

Our appeal met with an immediate and generous response, which has continued unabated throughout the five years that have elapsed since it was first made public. One of the most gratifying features of the response has been that all classes of the community, not only in this country but in many parts of the English-speaking world, as well as in several of the allied and neutral countries, have participated in it. Many of the gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since they consist of treasured possessions which had been acquired by struggling students through the exercise of economy and self-denial.

A new impulse was given to the movement in the early part of 1916, through the action of the British Academy in calling together representatives of the principal libraries and learned societies of the United Kingdom, under the presidency of Viscount Bryce, to consider the advisability of co-operating in the work of restoring the University of Louvain and its Library. This meeting resulted in the formation of a National Committee, and in the appointment of a small Executive, consisting of the following members : Lord Muir Mackenzie, G.C.B., K.C. ; Sir J. P. Mahaffy, G.B.E., C.V.O. ; Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B. ; Sir A. T. Davies, K.B.E., C.B. ; Sir A. Hopkinson, K.C. ; Edmund Gosse, Esq., C.B. ; Hugh Butler, Esq., Librarian of the House of Lords ; Sir I. Gollancz, Secretary to the British Academy ; Henry Guppy, Esq., Librarian of the John Rylands Library ; Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton ; C. G. Kekewich, Esq. ; Dr. J. W. Mackail ; Bodley's Librarian ; Sir Norman Moore ; Dr. A. E. Shipley, F.R.S., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge ; H. R. Tedder, Esq. ; and Dr. C. T. Hagberg Wright ; with Lord Muir Mackenzie as Chairman, and the Librarian of the House of Lords as Honorary Secretary, to consider the best way of organizing the movement effectively, and to take whatever steps were considered necessary.

The first meeting of the Executive was held in the Library of the House of Lords, by permission of their Lordships, who gladly showed their sympathy with the movement by allowing this Committee to use their House for its meetings, and as its base of operations generally,

when it was decided to co-operate with the Governors of the John Rylands Library in the development of the scheme which they had already inaugurated, and as a result of the personal appeals made by Lord Muir Mackenzie, Sir Alfred Hopkinson, and other members of the Committee, who since its formation have taken an active part in furthering the objects of the scheme, success has been achieved.

As evidence of this success it needs only to be stated that since January last we have had the pleasure of transferring to Louvain nearly 400 cases, containing no fewer than 30,427 volumes, forming the major part of the splendid collection of books which has been gradually accumulated here in Manchester as the outcome of these combined efforts. The discrepancy between these figures and those given in the paragraph under "Notes and News" may be explained by the fact that a further consignment of nearly 5000 volumes has been dispatched to Louvain since that note was written. Even this does not complete the record, for yet another consignment is in active preparation for shipment, whilst fresh contributions and offers of assistance are still almost daily reaching us.

Further evidence of this unflagging interest in our project is to be found in the accompanying list of contributors, representing gifts to the extent of nearly 10,000 volumes which have reached us since the publication of our previous report, in December last.

Amongst the more recent gifts, which have come to hand since the accompanying list was drawn up, mention may be made of a valuable collection of general literature, consisting of 1200 volumes, from the University of Toronto, and of another collection of great interest contributed by Mr. Humphry Ward, in memory of his wife, the late Mrs. Humphry Ward, who in her younger days, some forty years ago, was a diligent student of early Spanish literature and history, and contributed most of the Spanish and West-Gothic biographies to Smith & Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography". To do this Mrs. Humphry Ward formed a small library of old Spanish books, and these, when our scheme was first made public, she said she would like to give to Louvain, as the old connection between Spain and Flanders had been so close. The collection includes many of the standard historians, such as Florez, Mariana, Nicolas Antonio, and Los Rios, amongst other interesting works, and thus forms a most welcome addition to the new library, not only on account of their intrinsic worth,

but by reason of their personal association with one whose works take rank amongst the classics of our literature.

In one of our earlier appeals for help we explained that whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we had in contemplation, we were at the same time anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words, that its equipment should include the necessary materials for research on the history, language, and literature of this country, together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. The attainment of that object has been made possible by the ready and generous co-operation of many of the learned societies, universities, university presses, and by a number of the leading publishers, to whom we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks.

In this connection it may be permissible to quote a few sentences from a letter received from Prof. A. van Hoonacker, who, writing under date of the 3rd April last, refers to the character of our contribution in the following terms :—

“ . . . The restoration of our library is progressing splendidly, and it is a very gratifying thing to acknowledge for us, the most valuable contributions, by far, are those of our English friends. Our debt of gratitude towards the Rylands Library is very great indeed and can never be forgotten. Our library will be a historical monument in a special way : it is going to be for its best part an English library ! ”

With a view of enabling readers to form some idea of the deep feelings of gratitude and appreciation which our united action has evoked, we venture to reproduce several passages from letters received from the Rector of the University, Monsignor P. Ladeuze. Writing on the 30th January, soon after the receipt of our first consignment of books, Monsignor Ladeuze expresses himself, on behalf of the University, in the following significant terms :—

“ . . . Les résultats que vous avez obtenus sont merveilleux. Vous avez atteint votre but. Grâce à vous nos professeurs et nos étudiants ont encore une bibliothèque, et une bibliothèque utilisable, longtemps avant que les Allemands aient réparé leur crime. Par la richesse de son contenu, par les soins qui ont été donnés aux livres, par la peine que vous avez prise de dresser un catalogue soigné et une bonne partie des fiches, votre premier envoi de livres dépasse de loin tous ceux que nous avons reçus jusqu'ici. La joie de nos professeurs devant ces beaux

livres faisait plaisir ; j'aurai voulu que vous en fussiez témoin. Et voici qu'un nouvel envoi nous parvient, encore plus précieux que le premier ! Les listes que j'ai reçues me permettent d'en apprécier toute l'importance, et en particulier l'utilité que nous pourrions en retirer tout de suite pour nos études. Du plus profond de mon cœur, je vous dis mon meilleur merci."

Again, under date of the 23rd February, upon receipt of the detailed lists of the contents of the cases forming the third consignment, Monsignor Ladeuze writes :—

" . . . Ce nouvel envoi va être réellement d'une grande utilité pour nos professeurs et nos étudiants. La liste du contenu de chaque caisse, que je reçois en même temps que votre lettre, me le prouve surabondamment, et je vous demande la permission de ne pas chercher de formules pour vous exprimer à nouveau notre vive gratitude . . . 16,390 volumes, choisis, bien ordonnés, en excellent état ! C'est déjà toute une bibliothèque, et une bibliothèque universitaire ! Et vous voulez bien me dire que ce n'est par fini, qu'au contraire le nombre des dons s'accroît tous les jours ! Encore une fois, sans formules, merci de tout mon cœur ! "

Again, under date of the 22nd May :—

" Je ne sais plus à quelles formules recourir pour vous dire mon admiration et ma gratitude.

" Il y a quelques jours, je parlais à M. le Professeur Van der Essen de vos envois. Et il me répondit : ' J'ai vu les débuts de la collection pendant la guerre ; ils étaient déjà magnifiques. Mais je n'aurais pas pu soupçonner alors les développements que cette collection allait prendre. . . . ' Ces paroles se rapportaient aux quatre premiers envois. Le cinquième va encore considérablement augmenter ces richesses, comme je puis en juger par les indications que vous voulez bien me donner, en m'annonçant son arrivée.

" . . . Soyez encore remercié 26,336 fois pour les 26,336 volumes, tous de choix, que nous vous devons !

" Les volumes de quatre envois précédents sont déjà à la disposition de nos lecteurs, et se trouvent bien établis sur les rayons de notre bibliothèque provisoire.

" Il est bien regrettable qu'il ne soit pas encore possible de commencer à construire notre nouvelle bibliothèque."

Yet again, under date of the 23rd July :—

" . . . Au moment où je reçois votre lettre et le catalogue de votre nouvel envoi, je suis sur le point de m'absenter pour plusieurs jours. Je veux cependant vous envoyer tout de suite une rapide mais très sincère expression de ma vive gratitude. Ce m'est un grand plaisir de faire connaître à tous ceux qui visitent notre Bibliothèque provisoire l'importance extraordinaire de votre collaboration à l'oeuvre de la restauration de notre dépôt. Nous voici 30,427 fois obligés envers vous ! Et combien ce nouvel envoi nous sera précieux, la brève description que vous m'en donnez, le montre éloquentement. La semaine prochaine aura lieu la grande réunion annuelle de notre conseil d'administration, présidée par le Cardinal Mercier. Je me ferai un devoir de lui exposer tout ce que nous vous devons."

Monsieur L. Stainier, Administrateur de la Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, who has undertaken the direction of the restoration of the Louvain Library, and consequently has had the handling and direction of our consignments, when acknowledging their safe arrival employs the same emphatic terms of appreciation.

On the 6th April he writes as follows :—

" Your letter of the 1st April reached us at the time the Easter bells were chiming in happy remembrance of the Saviour's Resurrection, and I could not refrain from associating their chimes with the joy of the resurrection of our library. . . .

" The first three consignments have caused the greatest satisfaction among the professors, but I think they will feel no less happy when the fourth consignment is ready for consultation. Such interesting and useful sets as the publications of the Early English Text Society, the Gibb Memorial Fund, The Royal Asiatic Society, the Gwatkin collection, etc., will enable our masters and students to resume their work anew."

On the 3rd May :—

" . . . Above all we congratulate you upon the system of transmission you have instituted ; the rapidity and smoothness of which is marvellous ; and we are now considering the application of the system to the recuperation in Germany, the beginning of which is now in view."

On the 31st May, thus :—

" . . . Once more I am able to report the safe arrival of your latest consignment of sixty-three cases of books . . . no, of treasures !

" Positively such collections as the texts of the Manchester University

Press and of the Clarendon Press at Oxford would be considered among the most useful collections already shelved in our stores, and I do not doubt of the satisfaction of masters and students when they are enabled to know the Mayhew and Jenner collections, and peruse the books gathered by such workers.

"In the case of the publications of the Folk Lore Society we had to open the cases in which they were contained in order to satisfy the impatient professor who had been waiting its coming since early morning.

"The 'Agrippa's Works' (a volume which at one time belonged to the Louvain Library) was received as a Prodigal Son reintegrating his parents' home."

We cannot conclude this report without acknowledging our indebtedness for the great service which has been rendered by the Cork Steamship Company, Limited, for whom Messrs. J. T. Fletcher & Company of Manchester act as agents, in so generously undertaking the entire responsibility of the transportation of the new library to Louvain. Nearly four hundred cases have been collected in Manchester and shipped to Louvain, free of cost—a most liberal contribution towards our scheme of restoration. We have also to thank Mr. Jebson, the representative of Messrs. Fletcher, for the great interest he has taken in the matter, and for the advice and help which he has so readily given in making the necessary arrangements for shipment.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE NEW LOUVAIN LIBRARY, NOVEMBER, 1919, TO JUNE, 1920.

(The figures in Brackets represent the number of Volumes.)

Mrs. ADAM, Cambridge.	(61)
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